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TIME

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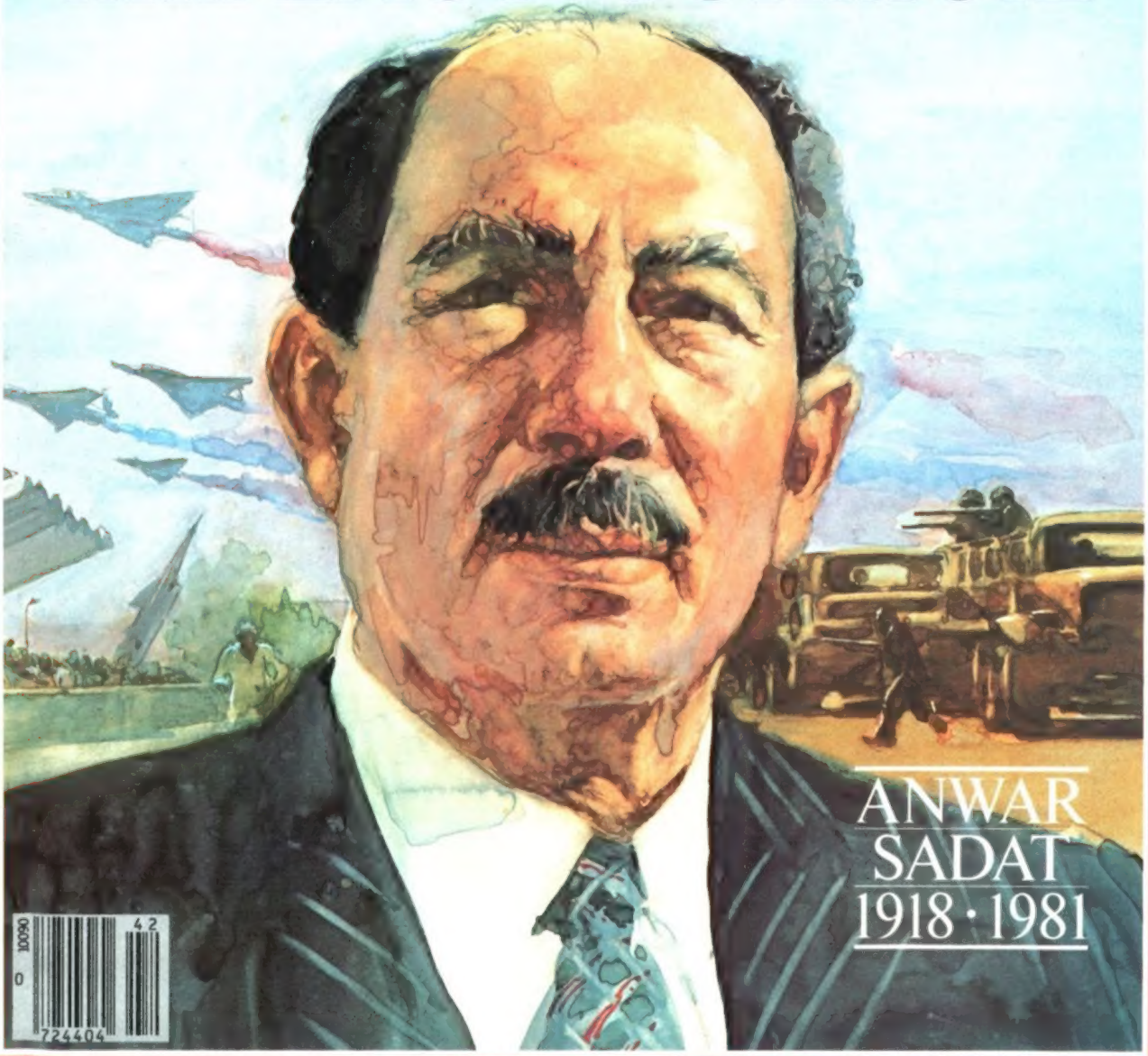

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TIME

OCTOBER 19, 1981 Vol. 118 No. 16 THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

Last Tuesday morning, TIME Correspondent Wilton Wynn was walking to his office in Rome when he recalled that exactly eight years ago to the day, he had been urgently summoned to Egypt to cover a war; Anwar Sadat's Egyptian army had crossed the Suez. Only hours later, Wynn was again summoned to Cairo, this time to cover carnage of a different kind: the assassination of Sadat. It was a haunting journey for a man who had spent eleven years as a correspondent in Egypt and dozens of hours in intimate talk with its slain leader. It was one of many dramatic experiences of TIME staffers around the world who helped report this week's cover package on the tragic events in Cairo.

Earlier that day Photographer Barry Iverson was watching a parade of Egyptian weaponry through his telephoto lens. He heard gunfire. In moments, he was staring at Sadat's fallen presidential photographer, who had "blood streaming from his face." Later, via telephone with NBC's Tom Brokaw in New York, Iverson was one of the first eyewitnesses to describe the scene to an anxious U.S. TV audience. Meanwhile, Wynn and Cairo Bureau Chief Robert C. Wurmstedt lined up an interview with Egypt's new leader, Hosni Mubarak, and Correspondents Roland Flamini and Jack White arrived from Bonn and Nairobi to profile the assassins and follow the funeral preparations.

BAHM DOHERTY

Correspondent Wynn with Sadat in Aswan, 1979

When the news broke, Jerusalem Bureau Chief David Aikman was lunching with some influential Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and could only watch in silence as they raised their glasses to toast Sadat's assailants. Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott experienced an ominous sense of déjà vu. He was with Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi in 1979, when the signing of the Camp David accords was shown on television. Says Talbott: "I remember the concentrated, determined hatred that his eyes were beaming at the image of Sadat."

A team of experienced Middle East hands worked on the cover package in New York, including Associate Editor William E. Smith, who has specialized in Middle East stories since 1973, and Staff Writer William Drozdiak, Cairo bureau chief until last summer. Supervising the entire Sadat section was International Editor Karsten Prager, onetime Middle East bureau chief, who recalls his own invigorating colloquies with Sadat: "Sooner than any other Arab leader, he recognized the value of putting his case to the Western world. His openness was one of his best qualities."

John a. Meyer

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Cover: Once again the forces of hatred lash out against a symbol of peace. Cut down by assassins' bullets, Egypt's Anwar Sadat leaves a legacy of confusion and despair—but also of hope that his vision may still prevail.

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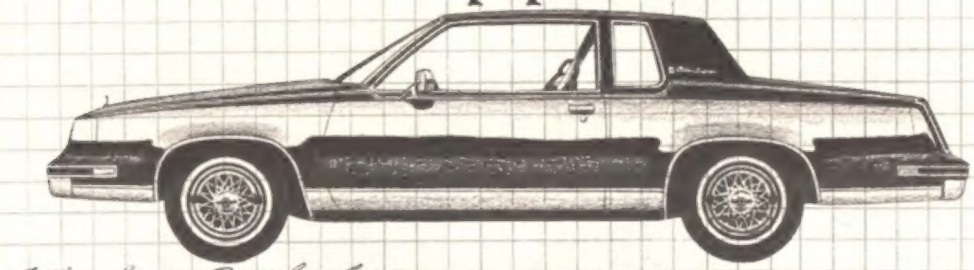
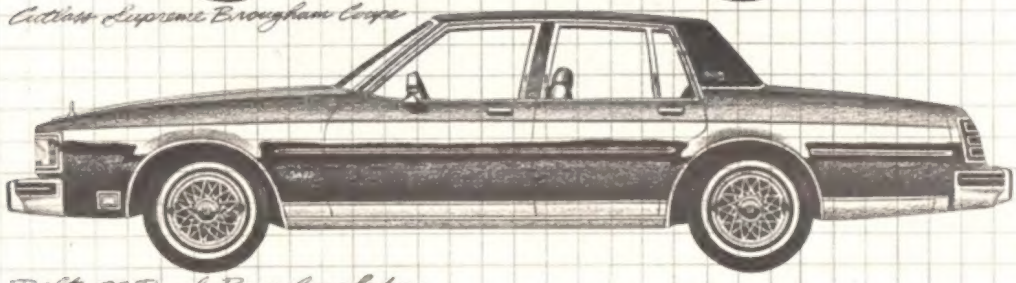
TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly at the subscription price of $36 per year, by Time Inc., 3435 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010. Principal office: Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020. J. Richard Munro, President; J. Winston Fowlkes, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary. Second class postage paid at Los Angeles, CA, and at additional mailing offices. Vol. 118 No. 16. © 1981 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, Time/Life Building, 541 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, Ill. 60611.

Diesels.
How did Oldsmobile make them so popular? They put them in popular cars.



Cutlass Supreme Brougham Coupe

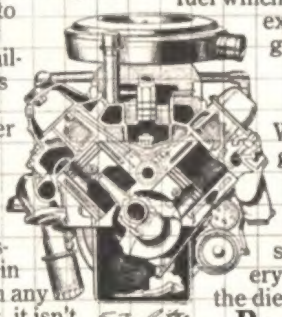


Delta 88 Royale Brougham Sedan

In 1977, Oldsmobile made an innovative move. They introduced the first American cars with available diesel V8 power. Now, with over 387,000 diesel Oldsmobiles on the road, Oldsmobile is the number one seller of diesels in America, and diesel Oldsmobile popularity keeps growing.

A new diesel V6 for 1982.

The number of diesel engines available in Oldsmobiles is growing, too. In addition to the diesel V8, a new diesel V6 is now available for 1982 Cutlass Supreme Coupe and Sedan models to offer a great combination of high mileage and high style.



5.7-liter diesel V8

Altogether, more diesel-powered Oldsmobiles will be sold in the next year than in any year in the past. But, it isn't just because there will be so many diesel Oldsmobile models to choose from. Or even because of the impressive diesel engineering advances, like the Fast-Start Glow Plug System, roller hydraulic lifters and the inherent smoothness of the V-type design.

It's because diesel Oldsmobiles offer some very basic and important things people want.

Impressive fuel economy.

Diesel Oldsmobiles offer comparable fuel economy to that of many smaller cars and a cruising range few can match. All on diesel fuel which is traditionally less expensive than unleaded gasoline.

Added value at resale.

While it may vary by geographic location, many used car guides indicate that current resale prices, averaged out, show a substantial recovery of the original cost of the diesel option.

Room. Comfort. And style.

We could get more technical. But let's face it. What really counts is what a diesel does. Not what it is. And what a diesel does in an Oldsmobile is to give you roomy, comfortable and stylish alternatives to the proposition of making very practical choices. So that even today, there's still room to do it with style.

GM

Diesel mileage estimates.

MODELS		Fuel Tank Cap.	Est. Hwy.	Est. Hwy. Range	EPA Est. MPG	Est. Range
Cutlass Supreme	(V6)	19.8	36	712	25	495
Cutlass Supreme	(V8)	19.8	34	673	23	455
Cutlass Cruiser	(V8)	18.2	34	618	23	418
Delta 88	(V8)	26.0	34	884	23	598
Ninety-Eight	(V8)	26.0	33	858	22	572
Custom Cruiser	(V8)	22.0	33	726	22	484
Toronado	(V8)	22.8	36	820	21	478

Use estimated mpg for comparison. Your mileage and range may differ depending on speed, distance, weather. Actual highway mileage and range lower. Range estimates are obtained by multiplying EPA estimates by the standard fuel tank capacity rating. Some estimates lower in Calif. Some Oldsmobiles are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details. Oldsmobile projection of 1982 EPA V6 estimates. See your dealer for actual EPA estimates.

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Oldsmobile

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Letters

Jury Still Out

To the Editors:

Overwhelming is the word I would use for my own service as a juror [Sept. 28]. I was astonished to discover how biased I was, even in areas where I had been certain I could be objective. I would encourage every citizen who is ever called for jury duty to accept. It was a privilege as well as a learning process.

Sherry Terzian
Los Angeles

Since the first time I was asked to serve on a jury, I have maintained that everyone believes in the system until asked to serve on a jury.

Joseph B. Mirsky
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Two days prior to reading "We, the Jury, . . ." I walked out of criminal court with eleven fellow jurors, having recommended the death sentence in a first-degree-murder trial. We shared one common feeling when the trial was over; we had done what we had to do, not what we wanted to do. Those six days were among the most difficult and exhausting of my life. It was an "irksome, boring, vital, rewarding" and sobering ordeal.

Leslie Grogan
Coral Gables, Fla.

In my opinion we greatly overuse the jury system. It is sheer waste to impanel a jury for every auto-accident case. In highly technical civil suits, experienced and impartial judges can get to the merits in a fraction of the time. It is usually the side that feels that those merits need to be skirted that demands a jury.

William J. Weipert Jr., Circuit Judge
38th Judicial Circuit of Michigan
Monroe, Mich.

As a criminal defense lawyer, I consider choosing a jury one of the most important and terrifying aspects of a trial because it is my job to make sure those twelve people see my client's side of the case. None of my questions in *voir dire* is pointless. During that process, it is impossible for me to explain to a juror just why I ask a particular question. Yet when I present my case, I hope the reason becomes clear. Since my client's life is in the hands of those twelve people in the box, I want to know as much about them as I can.

Reesa Evans-Marcinczyk
Assistant State Public Defender
Green Bay, Wis.

A potential juror should accept his call for service only on a voluntary basis. Telling someone he has to serve under threat of penalty, and with disregard for hardship or loss of income, is not the best way to pick fair-minded jurors.

Leonard Clairmont
Honolulu

Your story on jury duty was superb. Sometimes, as you know, one is "bumped" on *voir dire* because he is a reader of TIME.

Sophie Chrissoveloni
New York City

Goldwater's Right

I have deep admiration for Barry Goldwater for his criticism of Moral Majority policies [Sept. 28] and his stand on political freedom. One has only to look at Iran to see the results of being ruled by a "religious right."

Martha J. Tribble
Chattanooga

I don't always agree with Senator Goldwater, but this time "In my heart—and mind—I know he's right."

Paul R. Mow
Aiea, Hawaii

I do not kill, rape, steal or cheat and try not to lie, but I do read *Playboy* and watch *Three's Company*. Does Falwell expect me to burn in hell?

Brett Angus
Ledyard, Conn.

Loeb's Legacy

In your obituary of William Loeb, the New Hampshire publisher [Sept. 28], you used the adjectives splenetic, petulant, scurrilous, infuriating and notorious to describe the man and his methods. You passed over the one word that perhaps describes him best: vicious.

Freeman Cleaves
Millburn, N.J.

William Loeb's tirade is ended. The only good thing to come of so much space devoted to his passsing is that those who were personally and politically mangled by his front-page assaults will now know that others can see William Loeb for what he was. Loeb's victims will outlive his memory for many, many happy years.

Quentin Leo
New York City

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Letters

I did not always agree with William Loeb's editorials, but at least I knew they were his opinions and not a masquerade for truth. This cannot always be said of other dailies, which present their views as unadulterated fact. Your vituperative obituary should have recognized this.

Christine A. Adamec
Merrimack, N.H.

In Loeb's own words, "a newspaper is meant to be controversial: write controversy and you write for me!" You gave him a good send-off. I could almost be convinced he wrote it himself.

Bea McCormack Patterson
Corpus Christi, Texas

Inca Irrigation

It was wonderful to read about old Inca canals being put to good use again [Sept. 28]. The Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala also have ancient canals that might be restored, thus helping these poor areas become prosperous again.

Benjamin Urrutia
Albany

Zero Option

Your story "Getting Together—at Last" [Sept. 28] covering the visit of Secretary of State Alexander Haig to Bonn and

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

The first ultra

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Berlin unfortunately misrepresented the position of the Chancellor of the Federal Republic, Helmut Schmidt. You assert that Chancellor Schmidt explained to Haig that the Soviets should dismantle *some* of the 250 SS-20s already in place, thereby eliminating any need for new NATO missiles. What the Federal Chancellor did was persuade the Secretary of State of the necessity to include the zero option [whereby, in return for the dismantling of *all* Soviet SS-20s targeted on Europe, the U.S. would not deploy new medium-range missiles] in the Western formula for the negotiations. For two years Chancellor Schmidt has considered the zero option a desirable basis of reciprocity. The precondition for a zero option of the West has to be the Soviet readiness to dismantle the SS-20s.

Kurt Becker
Government Spokesman
Bonn

Who Can Pay?

If the Reagan Administration prefers to concentrate on stimulating production [Sept. 28], who's going to buy the products? Mr. and Mrs. Average American will discover their newly won tax breaks are more than offset by other tax increases, rising rents, larger utility bills and higher food costs.

What's left to buy that new automobile, which now has a price tag that defies the law of demand? What's left to set aside for that down payment on a new home? Or Johnny's college education?

What's left to save for a rainy day? Let's face it: the rainy day is already here.

Russell P. Richmond
St. Joseph, Mich.

Poland *vs.* the Bear

The Soviet bear growling at Poland's Solidarity union [Sept. 28] is either a sign of severe indigestion or the antics of a brainless beast. The Soviets describe Solidarity's call for an independent labor movement within the Soviet Union as a blatant act of interference and meddling. What is one to call the warning letter delivered to Polish Party Boss Kania by U.S.S.R. Ambassador Boris Aristov?

Edwin P. Kulawiec
Bethesda, Md.

The big bears in Moscow have a tough story to explain. Events in Poland are just another example of the failure of Soviet Communism to serve the people. This time, the majority of the labor force, which is the backbone of any economy, is rebelling against an inflexible, suffocating, authoritarian regime. If Communism is so dedicated to benefiting the proletariat, why is it that the working class is rising up in Poland?

Jeffrey Luce Dingle
Gladwyne, Pa.

Having recently returned from a teaching assignment in Poland, I was pleased to find your compassionate reporting in "Fed Up with the Food Fight." The Poles may be short-tempered because of the current political and economic difficulties, but they are not short of love for their country or a desire for a free Poland.

George J. Gillis
Delafield, Wis.

Beer and Beauty

Natural Light had a great idea when it decided to star a woman in its beer commercial [Sept. 28]. But it lost my business when it put her in a sexy bathing suit instead of showing her at a construction site, drinking with friends, or sitting down to a well-deserved glass after cooking, cleaning and minding the kids.

Mary Clemens
Palisades Park, N.J.

Christie Brinkley gives us male viewers one more reason to try Anheuser-Busch's Natural Light. She is more appealing than any of those "over-the-hill" athletes appearing for Miller Lite beer.

Robert L. Fabry
St. Louis

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American Scene

Des Moines: Cram Course for Pols

As a professional politician, Donald Dworak is used to fielding hostile questions of the have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife variety. But this is worse by far—unfair, underhanded, un-American. Bathed in the bright glare of television lights, he squirms nervously, kneading his hands together tightly, his knuckles whitening. Dworak, a second-term state senator from Nebraska who is considering a run for Governor, manages credible and even convincing answers to probing questions on water policy, a prime concern to Nebraska farmers. But then comes a change-up from his questioner. "What's your favorite color?" Dworak starts to stammer a confused response and finally breaks up in laughter on-camera. "Remember," admonishes the unamused interviewer, "be ready for anything."

Fortunately, the exercise is just for practice, part of a cram course for would-be Democratic candidates who learned a hard and valuable lesson from last year's Republican landslide: backslapping, hand-pumping and getting along still have their uses, but politics is more than ever a cold and complicated science, a bloodless war of expensive software and arcane marketing techniques. No longer can Democrats take for granted a solid blue-collar base or mass backing from minorities. The voter has become increasingly independent of party labels, a finicky comparison shopper among parties, candidates and issues. There are new techniques for wooing this voter, methods so far used most effectively by the Republicans. Don Dworak realizes this all too well. He was a Republican before switching parties earlier this year. For Democrats, even newly minted ones like Don Dworak, this is the first day of school.

The first of three days of school, as it happens. The Democratic National Committee has organized a traveling cram course in the new science of politics, and its first three-day stop is Des Moines, chosen for its central geographic location. To show they mean business, the Dems have rather pretentiously called their course a National Training Academy. It is mostly a mix of skull sessions and pep talks in the garish, maroon-walled ballroom of the Hotel Savery. The subsidized tuition is a modest $95, described by Party Political Director Ann Lewis as "low enough to attract, but high enough to require serious commitment. Lewis is delighted that 240 "students," a third of them women, have come from 30 states to soak up from the pros the fine points of campaign organization, fund raising, canvassing and media exploitation.

BILL DANIEL

Iowa State Senator Patrick Deluhery fields hardball questions in a practice TV interview

School starts with an exhortation from National Committee Chairman Charles T. Manatt, 45, to "rekindle, renew, and put together the building blocks for victory in 1982." Then the lights are dimmed and the enemy appears: Ronald Reagan, in his Sept. 24 address, asking for more budget cuts. He dominates the ballroom from six big color monitors. There is surprisingly little booing and barracking from the partisan audience. "The man may be selling snake oil," observes Jim Hepworth, a farmer who is party chairman in Minnesota's Blue Earth County. "But he sure sells it well."

After that dramatic opening, it is back to basics. Michael Berman, who has run campaigns for Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale, warns the assembled students: "You're going to get outspent up to 20 to 1 by Republicans. Save your resources to target on the 20% to 25% of vot-

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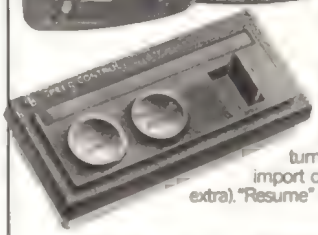

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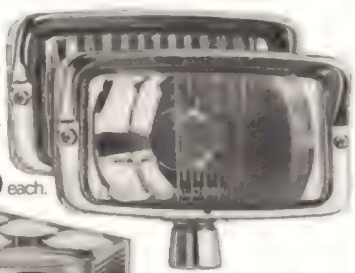

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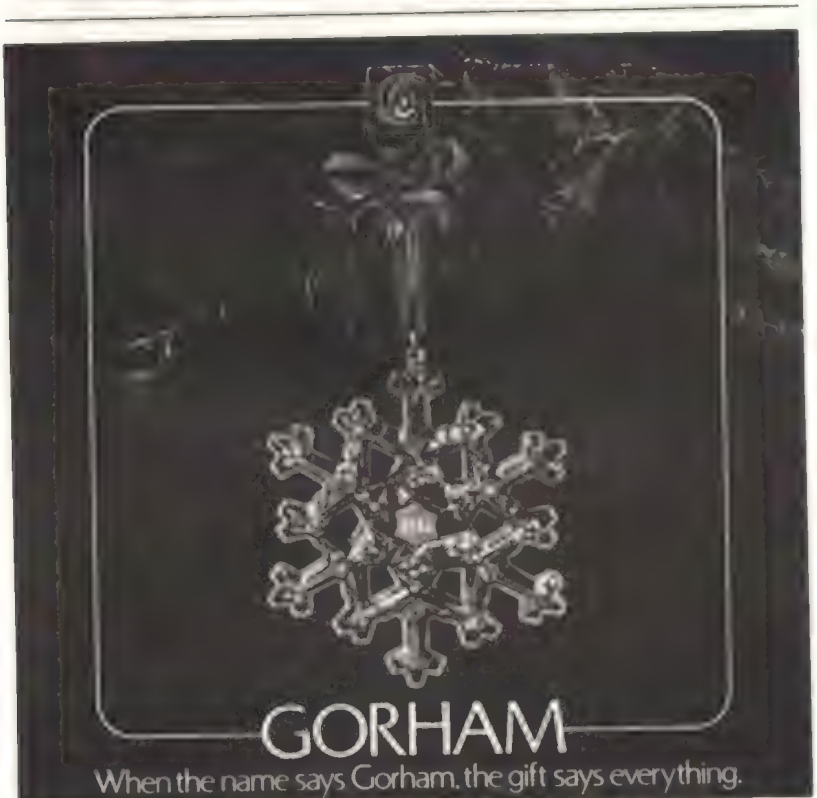

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GORHAM

American Scene

ers who are persuadable in most elections. He who runs his own campaign is a fool. Get a manager who shares your philosophy and is involved in the cause, not simply a hired gun."

Fund-Raising Specialist Jim Friedman stresses: "Expect a majority of turndowns, but don't rule anyone out in advance as a prospect, even Republicans. Fund-raising events are helpful because they require a cash commitment up front from ticket sales. Raise money at least 60 days before you expect to need it. The ideal campaign raises all its money before Sept. 1 and spends 90% of it after that."

Direct-mail experts urge the use of licked-on stamps to add a compelling personal touch, or brown envelopes with blue showing through the plastic windows, which often get opened first because they look as if a check might be inside. Media consultants advise putting campaign advertising into weekly papers instead of dailies because rates tend to be cheaper and the paper hangs around the house longer. Candidates are told to shake hands at factory gates before a shift starts, not at the end, because people coming off work are in a hurry to get home.

When appearing on television, they are told, be concise or else a film editor will chop the pitch to pieces to fit the short-item evening news format. Like Dworak, many of the would-be candidates subject themselves to a mock TV interview in which the questioner deliberately gets hostile to test their reactions under pressure. Colleagues then critique the videotaped replay, zeroing in on such distracting faults as eye-rolling, handwringing and scratching. Do not look down or away, they are instructed. Maintain eye contact at all times.

In a final seminar, Nebraska State Legislator Steve Fowler tells how he was targeted for defeat by the New Right and beat back the challenge by borrowing its symbols: the American flag, the bald eagle and the Liberty Bell on campaign literature, and *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* as background music for his radio spots. Fowler concedes he disliked using such blatant pitches to patriotism. But he won with them. He advises: "Fight back. Refute charges right away. Don't be afraid to go low if your opponent does."

After three days of instruction on taping commercials, renting mailing lists and hiring pollsters, and other up-to-date advice, the students finally get to do some heavy handshaking—with each other, to say goodbye. But they do not leave empty-handed. Each carries a bulging loose-leaf briefing book to use against the Republicans back home—and more important, renewed confidence. Says Jim Hepworth: "We got the proof we needed: the party's alive again." Hepworth climbs into his Dodge Dart with three fellow students for the ride home to Minnesota, armed with new weapons for one of the oldest battles of the Republic. —*By Lee Griggs*

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COVER STORIES

Murder of a Man

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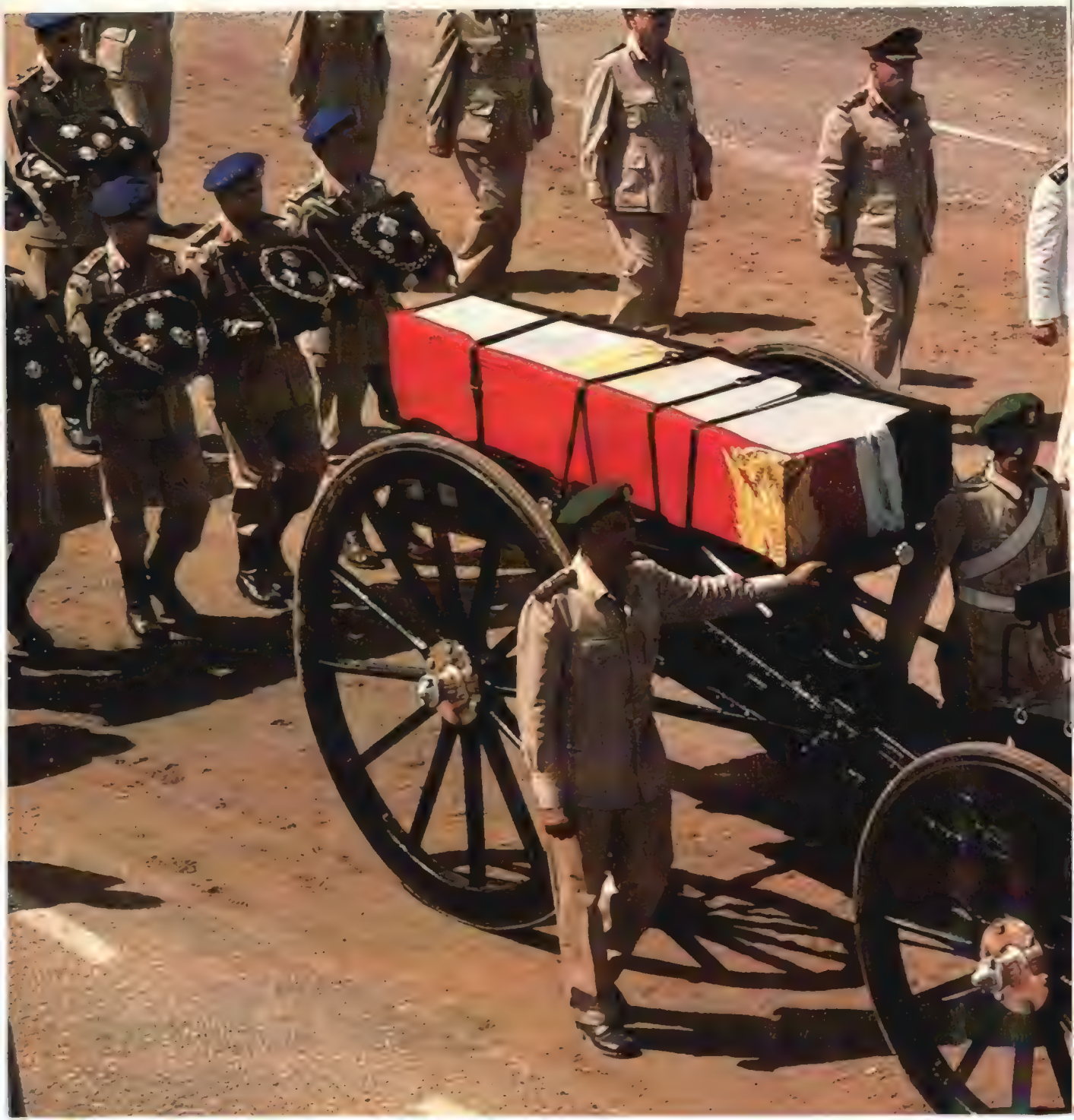


# of Peace

an uncertain legacy

"Do you know what astounds me most about the world?" Napoleon asked in his later days. "It is the impotence of force to establish anything ... In the end, the sword is always conquered by the mind." This time, in the suburbs of Cairo, the mind lost to the sword, to grenades and automatic rifles and the fleet precision of fanaticism making one of its abrupt, savagely familiar hits upon the world's hope for something better.

So one parade yielded to another. The one that ended in fatal chaos produced, four days later, a nervous, solemn pageant of much of the world's leadership (fetching back three Administrations in the U.S. case). The procession of power on display was pharaonic. It was a complicated homage: there was Prince Charles, to represent the British, whom Sadat once plotted violently to evict. And there, of course, was Menachem Begin, something of an ex-terrorist himself, who enjoyed an immeasurably complex relationship and history with the deceased.

The air around the assassination of Anwar Sadat was dense with fatal ironies. In martial finery, the Nobel Peace prizewinner sat admiring his nation's annual celebration of force; it was the anniversary of the 1973 day when Egypt plunged across the Suez Canal to break Israel's Bar Lev Line. Now death jumped out of his beloved army's line of march.

The scene came to the world in that stricken electronic burst that has now, after much experience, become a sort of art form, a genre of the politics of terror and risk and awful surprise: television *vérité* abruptly pouring bulletins into the global village, the images of anchormen nervously fighting for a grip on things. The mind behaved like the hand-held television cameras that reeled wildly from sky to earth and then zoomed in on that *Guernica* of tumbled chairs and shot bodies and blood smears.

First came a violent, momentary loss of equilibrium. Commentators talked about a Middle Eastern Sarajevo, the single death-by-terror that unhinges everything. Then a stabilizing weariness set in, and even, about this one, a sense of inevitability. Sadat's assassination was not a lovelorn nut-case fluke like the attack on Ronald Reagan in March, nor was it the almost metaphysically surprising outrage committed six weeks later in St. Peter's Square. Sadat knew as well as anyone the furies he had stirred in the Arab world when he went to Jerusalem on his "sacred mission" in 1977, when he signed the Camp David agreements and embraced the Prime Minister of Israel. At the news of his death, while others recoiled and wept, great throngs in many Arab countries turned out rejoicing; they waved flags and fired rifles in the air. They hated Sadat. They wanted him dead; they had their reasons. But they were dancing upon the assassinated corpse of one of the world's last great men. It did not leave a good impression.

Sadat was a visionary with a talent for astonishing; he had a Clausewitzian instinct ("For great aims, we must dare great things"). He was also a profound, serene fatalist—which may have been the secret of his equilibrium. Such fatalism might serve others well now. Since 1970, 22 heads of state or government have been assassinated. As Theologian Paul Tillich remarked: "Death has become powerful in our time."

—By Lance Morrow

Surrounded by a military honor guard, the flag-draped coffin of President Anwar Sadat rolls slowly toward its final resting place at Egypt's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

Moments before his death, a relaxed President Sadat converses with Defense Minister Abu Ghazala as the Oct. 6 military procession begins

How It Happened

Four suicidal killers succeed in slaying Sadat and stunning the world

The day dawned warm, dry, sunny, a typical October morning in Cairo. In the modern suburb of Nasr City, tank and truck engines were coughing to life as the troops began their final preparations for the big parade: the President, as every soldier knew, demanded nothing less than crisp precision and split-second timing. Already the six-lane parade route had been cleared of traffic, and 2,000 portable chairs were neatly arrayed in the reviewing stand across from the pyramid-shaped monument that is Egypt's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. A motley mix of military equipment —U.S.-built M60 tanks, Soviet-supplied personnel carriers, field guns made in South Korea—gleamed in the sun, ready to roll, polished to spit-shine perfection.

It was Oct. 6, a festive occasion in Egypt, the annual commemoration of the day in 1973 when Egyptian forces stormed across the Suez Canal. Although Israel ultimately recovered to turn the October War in its favor, Egypt's thrust through Israeli defenses in the Sinai purged the country of the humiliation it had suffered in three previous wars with the Jewish state. For most Egyptians, who would watch the parade on television, the occasion also signaled the start of a holiday celebrating Abraham's sacrifice.

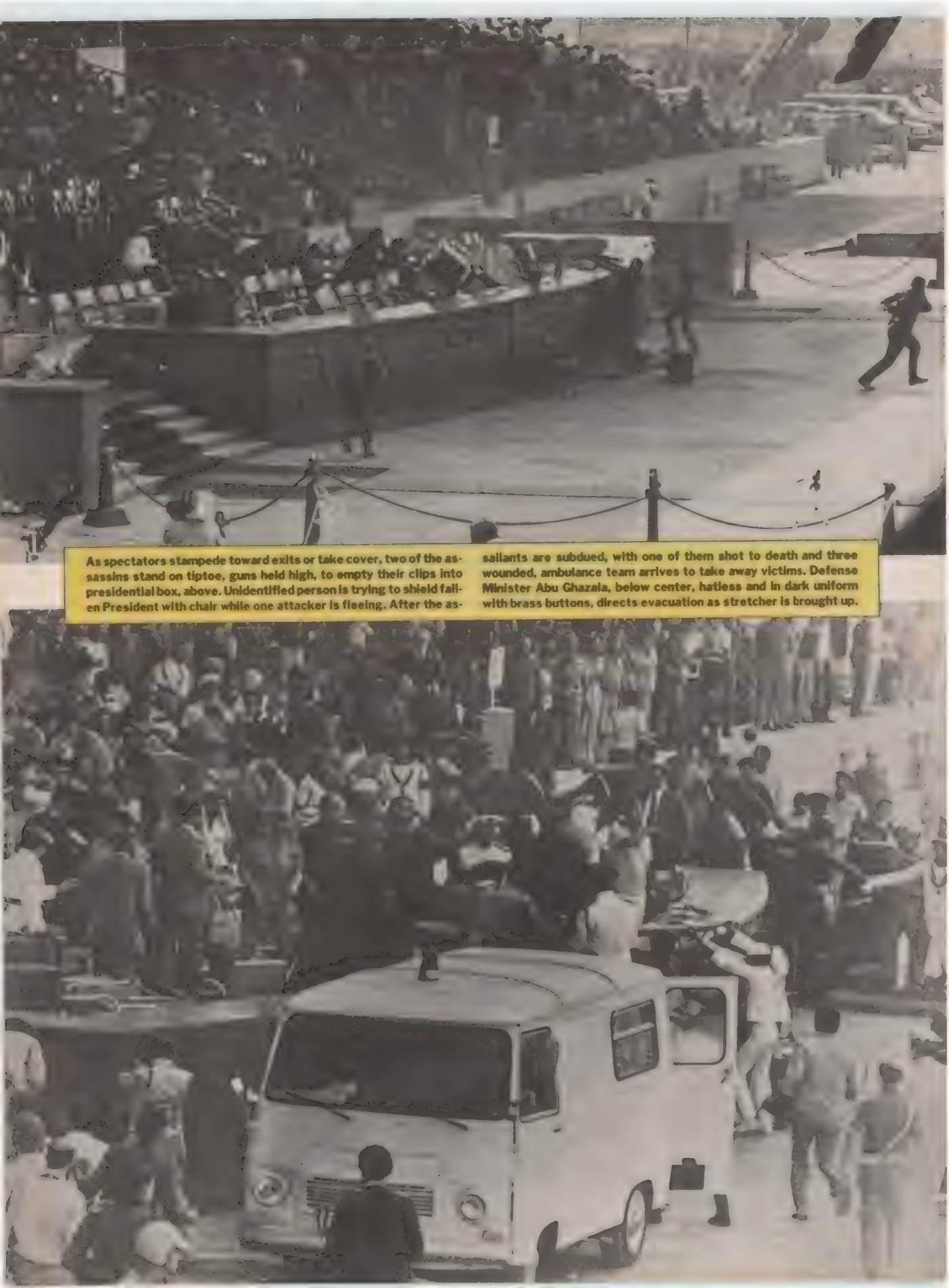
For President Anwar Sadat, 62, hailed by his countrymen as the "Hero of the Crossing," the anniversary had special meaning. His decision to strike across the canal in 1973 had transformed his reputation at home and abroad from that of a mere transition figure to that of a leader, daring enough to go to war in order to seek peace. In that sense, Oct. 6, 1973, had been the first step on his historic journey to Jerusalem and a peace treaty with Israel.

Normally, Sadat, a man who had spent much of his early life as a soldier, relished the pomp and flourish of military power on display. On this morning he was not enthusiastic. Complaining of fatigue to his Vice President, Hosni Mubarak, he said he wished he did not have to attend the parade. Mubarak urged him to stay at home and rest. But Sadat's sense of duty won out. He would go, and afterward, in his Nile Delta home village of Mit Abu el Kom, visit the grave of his brother Atif, a pilot killed on the first day of the October War. Dressed as Egypt's Supreme Commander in a field marshal's gold-braided blue uniform festooned with a green sash, Sadat made a traditional stop on the way to the parade, paying his respects and praying at the grave of his predecessor, Gamal Abdel Nasser, in nearby Heliopolis. Then the President climbed into an open-roofed limousine, accompanied by eight bodyguards, to join Mubarak and Defense Minister General Abdel Halim Abu Ghazala for the short ride to Nasr City.

At 10 a.m., the trio took their places of honor in the reviewing stand, front row center, slightly elevated above the parade route behind a 5-ft.-high wall. Sadat in the middle, Mubarak to his right, General Abu Ghazala to his left. For three days before the parade, security personnel had inspected every rifle, every truck, every tank that would be in the march, to make sure that no live ammunition would be issued. Now the security men were combing the arriving invited guests with metal detectors. Jehan Sadat, the President's elegant wife, 48, had brought her grandchildren and was watching from a glass enclosure at the top of the stand; it was the first time she had taken the

Black-and-white photographs by Karim—Al Akhbar—Gamma Liaison

The drama of the assault on President Anwar Sadat: As one assailant circles behind the podium not far from a security man holding a pistol, above, attacker in the center fires bursts as he moves toward Sadat, who is covered by a pile of chairs, front row center, behind wall. Below, a third gunman, wearing cap, rushes to the left, where Sadat's photographer, lying on stairs, has been hit, while central attacker continues to spray gunfire over dais at point-blank range. Assassin on right has moved back to face the stand.



As spectators stampede toward exits or take cover, two of the assassins stand on tiptoe, guns held high, to empty their clips into presidential box, above. Unidentified person is trying to shield fallen President with chair while one attacker is fleeing. After the assailants are subdued, with one of them shot to death and three wounded, ambulance team arrives to take away victims. Defense Minister Abu Ghazala, below center, hatless and in dark uniform with brass buttons, directs evacuation as stretcher is brought up.

In the shell-shocked aftermath, General Abu Ghazala, bleeding from facial wounds, bends over one of the victims of the fusillade

youngsters to a public event. Abu Ghazala launched the proceedings with a speech praising Egypt's armed forces. The review began. It was 11:30 a.m. As the first units rumbled by, Abu Ghazala began to explain to Sadat the purposes and capabilities of each piece of equipment. Relaxed and smiling, the President puffed on his pipe, savoring the show of Egypt's passing firepower. One of the vehicles and a motorcycle broke down near the stand, briefly disrupting the march-past, but the columns quickly re-formed.

At about 12:40 p.m., midway through the parade, Abu Ghazala pointed out to Sadat six Mirage jet fighters sweeping low overhead, trailing plumes of blue, yellow, red and white smoke across the azure sky. Directly in front of the reviewing stand, a truck towing a Soviet-made 130-mm antitank gun braked to a halt. Other drivers in the four-column-wide procession, apparently suspecting more mechanical trouble, swerved to pass the vehicle. With their eyes cast skyward to watch the planes, the dignitaries in the stand, some 100 ft. away, were oblivious to what was happening in front of them.

Suddenly, there was the staccato sound of gunfire. Three uniformed men were spraying the stand from the back of the truck; a fourth leaped from the passenger seat and hurled a grenade into the crowd. The grenade landed at the feet of Abu Ghazala but failed to explode. A second grenade hit the face of Major General Abdrab Nabi Hafez, the Armed Forces Chief of Staff, who was also sitting near Sadat, but it too was a dud. The grenade thrower dashed back to the truck, grabbed an automatic weapon from the seat, turned again and began firing as he charged toward the stand. The three other uniformed men jumped from the back of the vehicle to join him, sprinting toward the dais and unleashing a torrent of automatic-weapons fire as they rushed ahead with shouts of "Glory for Egypt, attack!"

For seconds the spectators sat frozen, apparently thinking that the assault was part of the show. Sadat rose as if preparing to salute the onrushing men. As the truth bore in with each relentless round of fire, the sounds of frightened screams and crashing chairs exploded, and the crowd stampeded for the exits at the rear. Sadat was struck by bullets or fragments. Others fell around him. "I pulled the President down, and someone else tried to shield him with a couple of chairs," Abu Ghazala said later. "I felt the bullets flying all around me. I could feel the heat of them. Twice I thought it was all over: when I saw the grenade flying toward me, and when I saw a gun barrel right in my face, just five feet away from me."

The four assassins encountered little resistance in the first 50 seconds or so as security men and military police dived for cover. One attacker raced to the right flank of the stand, presumably to pin down Sadat's security detail, and later joined another assailant, who charged straight to the podium, unimpeded. The two men stood on tiptoe against the wall, guns raised above their heads, firing a fusillade of bullets into the tangled melee of bodies and chairs. A third killer ran diagonally to the left side of the dais. The fourth attacker joined the others as they emptied their clips into the throng of wounded and dead.

The assault so stunned most of Sadat's U.S.-trained security men that they failed to respond through much of the attack. Not a single security guard or soldier had been posted between the route of march and the reviewing stand, undoubtedly because no one expected trouble from soldiers on parade who, supposedly, carried no live ammunition. Thus a wide passage was left open that led straight to Sadat. The only shield afforded the President came when several plainclothesmen threw chairs over Sadat in a hopeless bid to save his life. Once the assassins had turned to flee toward the moving truck, the security guards gave chase, firing pistols and automatic rifles. Abu Ghazala, who had received shrapnel cuts in his face and right arm, sought to restore order amid the bloody chaos. "I told everybody to shut up," he said later, "and I ordered the military police to take charge." In the end, fire from the guards killed one of the attackers and wounded the other three.

Amid the screams and shouts of the terrified crowd, Abu Ghazala radioed a military facility near by for a helicopter to pick up the stricken President. It arrived three or four minutes later in an area behind the reviewing stand. Jehan Sadat, who had watched the assault unfold from her box, tried to rush to her husband's side, but was pushed down forcefully by her security guard. She finally

Sadat

Security men carry away wounded Egyptian army First Lieut. Khaled el-Istambuli, who allegedly led the death squad

reached Sadat's side as he was lifted on a stretcher into the helicopter for the 20-minute flight to Maadi Military Hospital, south of Cairo, where the deposed Shah of Iran had died last year. "I knew he was finished," said Mubarak, who escaped with only cuts on his left hand. "I saw all the blood. I just couldn't believe it."

Nor could the rest of the world, as news of the attack rippled out. In Washington, President Ronald Reagan had just risen when Secretary of State Alexander Haig telephoned him at 7:20 a.m. local time to relay word from the U.S. embassy in Cairo that there had been a shooting incident involving Sadat. Reagan was relieved when he was told that the embassy believed Sadat was only slightly injured. Reagan immediately cabled a personal message to Sadat, offering his prayers and assurances that "we stand ready to assist in any way we can, including the provision of medical assistance to any of those wounded in this despicable attack."

But Washington's optimism soon turned to gloom. Just after 9 a.m. Reagan received his first detailed briefing from National Security Adviser Richard Allen. As Allen described the attack, Reagan mumbled repeatedly, "Good Lord, good Lord." At 11:15 a.m. the White House Situation Room confirmed that Sadat was dead. On Capitol Hill, Vice President George Bush was informed of the tragic news in a phone call from his chief of staff. Bush promptly relayed word to Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, who announced Sadat's passing to the Senate. The White House, however, quickly disowned the statement and refused to confirm or deny the Egyptian leader's death until Cairo had released an official declaration nearly three hours later.

In Tel Aviv, Egypt's Ambassador to Israel, Sa'ad Mortada, was host at an early afternoon reception at his modern residence north of the city to celebrate his country's "victory" in the 1973 war. It was hardly a popular party, understandably, and not one Israeli Cabinet minister was present, but the ambience was congenial as the guests—a sprinkling of ambassadors, some journalists, a handful of academics—sipped drinks on the patio. Then U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis arrived and took Mortada away from the reception line. As they huddled in serious conversation, Mortada's face went white. Soon others learned that something terrible had occurred in Cairo and scurried to back rooms to hover around radios. By then, Radio Cairo was broadcasting only music.

In Jerusalem, Prime Minister Menachem Begin was taking the eight-minute ride in his official car from his office to his home in the city's Rehavia section to have lunch. It was the day before the eve of Yom Kippur, Judaism's holiest day, and Begin was planning to take the afternoon off to prepare for the holiday. As he heard the news over the car's communications radio, Begin was "absolutely stunned," in the words of a senior aide. Once the Prime Minister arrived at his house, he tuned in the Voice of Israel and fielded phone calls keeping him abreast of developments in Cairo. Jimmy Carter called from Plains to tell Begin that Sadat was only slightly injured. The two men expressed mutual hopes for his swift recovery. A short time later, the first reports appeared on U.S. television networks announcing Sadat's death. Begin at first refused to believe the news. "You heard ABC," he told an aide. "ABC didn't say he died." When the truth finally sank in, Begin slumped disconsolately in his library armchair, reflecting on the special moments he had shared with Sadat.

For most Egyptians, the first indication that something was amiss came when television transmission from the parade broke off. With martial music playing in the background, peaceful scenes of Egyptian villages flashed onto the screen. Finally an announcer told the viewers that the President had left the parade. By that time, the toll from the attack stood at five killed and 28 wounded, including four Americans. Sadat was in the hospital in a coma, blood gushing from his mouth. Bullets and shrapnel had ripped into the left side of his chest, his neck, knee and thigh. A later medical bulletin would reveal that death occurred at 2:40 p.m., two hours after the attack began, and that it was due to "violent nervous shock and internal bleeding in the chest cavity, where the left lung and major blood vessels below it were torn." A doctor emerged from the operating room, his face streaked with tears, to break the news to Jehan Sadat. "Only God," he said, "is immortal."

—By William Drozdiak. Reported by Robert C. Wurmstedt and Wilton Wynn/Cairo

The Equations to Be Recalculated

"We shall find out if a man or an idea was killed"

The nightmare had come true: the sudden, terrifying death of the beleaguered, valiant, seemingly indispensable Anwar Sadat. In a week of anger and disbelief, the assassinated Egyptian leader was hailed in the U.S., in Western Europe, in Israel and elsewhere as a man of courage and peace. In a few Arab capitals, where he had never been forgiven for signing a peace treaty with Israel, his death was greeted with cheers and celebration, a burst of joy that much of the rest of the world considered obscene. And throughout a week that culminated in a somber state funeral Saturday, there were questions everywhere about what the Middle East, indeed the world, would be like without him: where the earthquake of his death had left Egypt; what would be the future now of the quest for a Middle East peace.

Expressions of shock and tribute arrived in Cairo from Israel, where Prime Minister Menachem Begin said he had lost "not only a partner in the peace process but also a friend"; from Bonn, where Chancellor Helmut Schmidt spoke of his "bewilderment and horror"; from Tokyo, where the government called Sadat "a great gladiator for peace"—and from two men who had been more fortunate than Anwar Sadat. In St. Peter's Square in Vatican City, Pope John Paul II, who was struck by a bullet just five months ago, spoke of his "emotion and pain." And in Washington, Ronald Reagan, who had decided not to attend the Sadat funeral because of security considerations, greeted the three living ex-Presidents, Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon, who had agreed to represent their country at the funeral. In a brief White House ceremony for them, Reagan addressed a moving eulogy pointedly toward those "who rejoice in the death" of the Egyptian leader *(see box)*. Said the President: "In life you feared Anwar Sadat, but in death you must fear him more. For the memory of this good and brave man will vanquish you."

From the chaos of the assassination scene, the Egyptian leadership moved swiftly to secure an orderly transition. At 5 p.m. Tuesday, scarcely two hours after the fallen President had been pronounced dead at the Maadi Military Hospital, the Cabinet met in emergency session and unanimously appointed Vice President Hosni Mubarak as Prime Minister and supreme commander of the armed forces. It was Mubarak, a member of the "October Generation," as Sadat called the participants in the October 1973 war, whom the late President had been grooming as his successor for the past seven years. The next day the People's Assembly, Egypt's parliament, nominated Mubarak for the presidency.

A national referendum was scheduled for early this week, but the balloting was regarded as a mere formality: Mubarak already had taken charge. The government immediately announced an official mourning period of 40 days and, as a special precaution, declared a state of emergency for one year, thereby prohibiting public gatherings and marches during that period. At 8 p.m. Tuesday, Mubarak formally announced Sadat's death to the Egyptian people over television and radio. Said the President-designate: "Allah has ordained that Sadat should die on a day which itself is symbolic of him, among his soldiers, heroes and people proudly celebrating the anniversary of the day on which the Arab nation regained its dignity." Egypt, Mubarak declared, would follow Sadat's course, "without any deviation, the course of peace." For the moment, Sadat's proud belief that he had established "a state of institutions" in Egypt that would permit a peaceful transfer of power, appeared to hold.

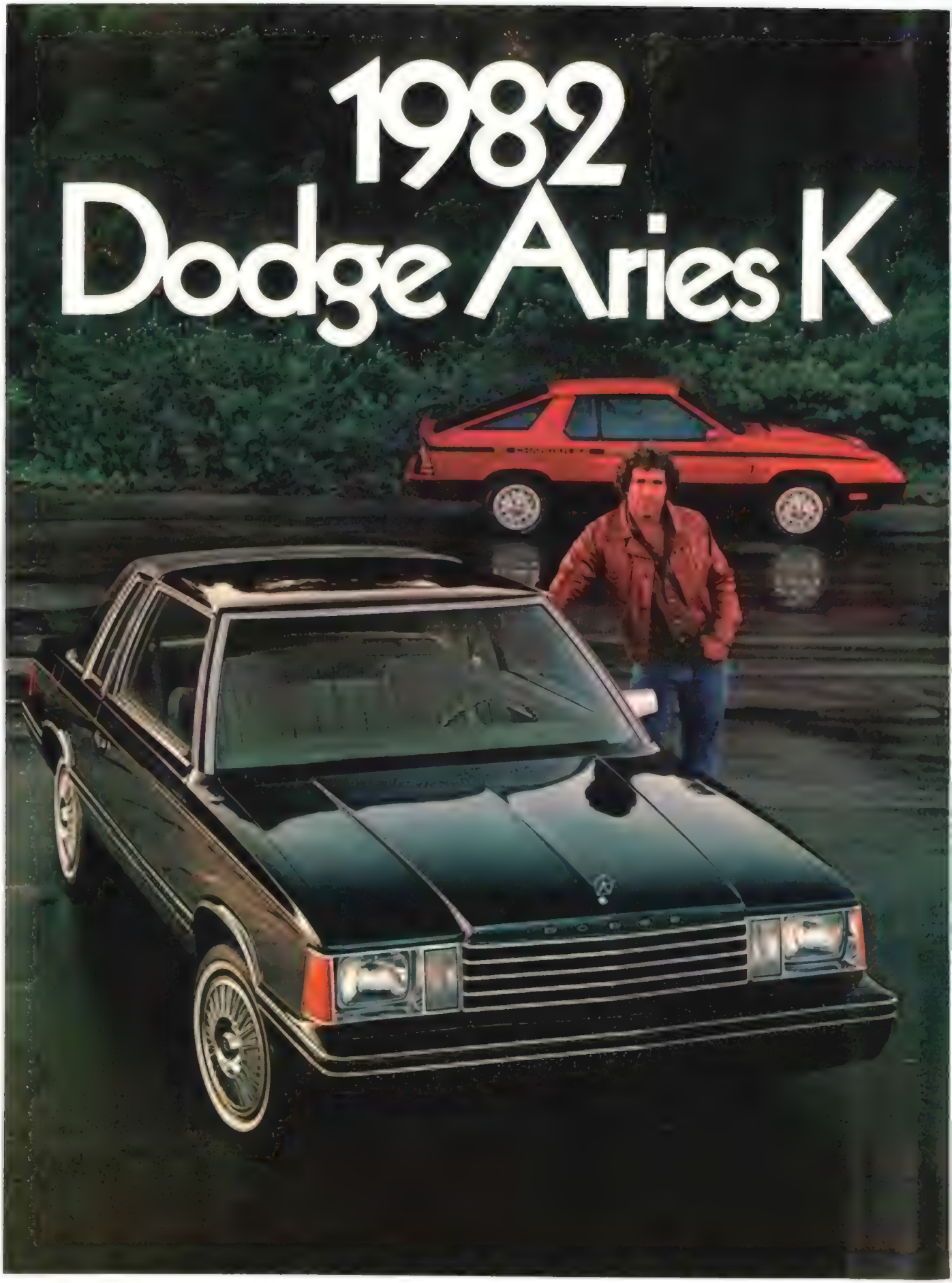
That night, and during the days that followed, Cairo was calm. Eleven years earlier, its millions had erupted in frenzied grief after the sudden death of Gamal Abdel Nasser. This time, the city remained unexpectedly tranquil, perhaps because Sadat aroused a different kind of emotion in his countrymen, but also because the state of emergency left people uneasy about venturing into the streets. There were no roadblocks. No extraordinary military presence was visible except around a few key installations and buildings. Stores stayed open late as Cairenes shopped for 'Id al-Adha, the Muslim feast of sacrifice. Only on the morning of the funeral was there a street demonstration. Said a student: "Something is destroyed inside of me. He is gone. I'm here. That's all."

By Thursday, there were reports that the armed forces of Egypt and neighboring Libya, a bitter foe of Sadat's, had been placed on alert, and that rioting by Muslim fundamentalists had broken out in the southern Egyptian city of Asyut, long a center of religious militancy. The clashes in Asyut, in which both police and protesters used firearms, causing hundreds of casualties, did not subside until army reinforcements were brought in. But there were no mass arrests within the army as a result of the assassination, and the country as a whole remained quiet.

Mubarak, Egypt's air force commander in the 1973 war, seemed almost matter-of-fact as he set out to assure the world that the Egyptian government would honor existing treaties and uphold Sadat's policies. Acutely aware that under the terms of the Camp David accords Israel is scheduled to withdraw from the easternmost portion of the Sinai next April, Mubarak assured Jerusalem that he would carry on with the peace negotiations along the lines laid down by Sadat. Despite Egypt's official rift with Saudi Arabia over the peace treaty with Israel, Mubarak declared that he, like Sadat, supports the sale of U.S. AWACS planes to the Saudis. Unlike Sadat, Mubarak refrained from making inflammatory remarks about Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, who had long called for Sadat's overthrow.

On the morning of the funeral, Cairo demonstrators display their grief and anger

1982 Dodge Aries K



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and death and whose radio stations last week beamed out fervent propaganda urging Egyptians to rise up against their government. In earlier years, Mubarak had been dismissed by some diplomats as a colorless acolyte. But last week, as he proceeded in a deliberate way to demonstrate the continuity of leadership, he looked more impressive than his reputation had suggested

Nonetheless, Sadat's violent death raised a host of concerns about Egypt and its relationships with the rest of the world. Sadat was like the Shah of Iran in one respect: he was the show. Both the Americans and the Israelis were aware of the vulnerability of basing their policies on so thin a leadership, even as they concluded that they had no real alternative. Sadat's assassination presents at the very least a serious challenge to U.S. foreign policy and all that that policy must contend with in the Middle East: the Camp David peace process, the Palestinian autonomy talks, the return of the Sinai, the U.S.-encouraged "strategic consensus" of anti-Communist states in the region. How much of Egypt's peace with Israel will survive Sadat's death? Will the new Egyptian leadership move closer to other Arab states, perhaps Saudi Arabia and Jordan at first? Will Israel keep its pledge to evacuate the rest of the Sinai next April? Will Mubarak, like Sadat, go along with Reagan's plan for a strategic consensus, even to the point of giving it precedence over progress toward a Palestinian settlement? Most Western governments are betting strongly on at least one answer: Mubarak is likely to do nothing that could prevent Egypt's recovery of the Sinai. As a senior British diplomat put it last week, "The slogan of the Mubarak leadership will be: Let's get to the end of April with the peace treaty intact. After that we can come to grips with the other problems."

Any inquiry into Egyptian and Middle East prospects begins with the three most gnawing questions of the moment: Who assassinated Anwar Sadat? Why? And what does the act mean for the stability of Egypt? As in a mystery novel in which hardly a character is free of suspicion, Sadat had so many enemies that almost no political or religious group can be completely ruled out. He was despised as a traitor by Arab nationalist radicals at home as well as those in Libya, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and elsewhere. He was hated by Islamic fundamentalists both inside and outside Egypt, and their numbers, like their fervor, are on the increase. He was at odds with some of his country's Coptic Christians. He had quarreled with the Soviet Union for nine years and only last month expelled the Soviet ambassador. At that time he also ordered the arrest of 1,600 Egyptian dissidents of all kinds, including several old comrades. Lately, in the view of some observers, he had seemed more harried, more desperate than the visible circumstances warranted. Had he learned of a plot in the making?

The official Egyptian position last week was that the assassination had been the work of a small band of Muslim fanatics acting alone, with no links to any political organizations or foreign country. According to the government, the group had been composed of four men, all from the same area of Upper Egypt: First Lieut. Khaled Ahmed Shawki el-Istambuli, who commanded an artillery battery, and two former lieutenants and a reserve officer. As a legitimate participant in the parade, Khaled had ordered other troopers off their truck and substituted the assassins. According to Defense Minister Abdel Halim Abu Ghazala, the four had purchased on the black market the grenades and guns they used in the attack. "It was very primitive, but successful," said Abu Ghazala. "At this point we do not believe they are part of a larger group."

Some skepticism greeted the official explanation. It is true that there were no sure signs of parallel attacks anywhere else, or any coordinated efforts to take over the country, as presumably would have been the case in a wider conspiracy. But some questions remained. Sadat's security men seemed slow to react, though the spectacular nature of the attack might well have stunned them. More important, the professional nature of the assault suggested the possibility of thorough training and a larger operation. Somehow the assassins evaded the security check prior to the parade. They were able to sneak live ammunition and grenades aboard their open truck. They positioned their vehicle in the column closest to the reviewing stand. Finally, they were able to reach the stand at the precise moment when the eyes of the President, his security detail and everyone else were focused on the jets overhead. Was the split-second timing an eerie coincidence, or had the attackers known the precise schedule of the parade?

A small, violent Muslim fundamentalist sect known as *Takfir wa Hijra*

At the White House, a rare convocation of Presidents

Reagan's Eloquent Farewell

It was a perhaps unprecedented moment in modern history: four U.S. Presidents standing side by side. As he bade farewell to Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon on the South Lawn of the White House before they departed for Sadat's funeral, Ronald Reagan paid tribute to the fallen Egyptian. Excerpts:

Today the American people stand beside the Egyptian people, the people of a new nation with the people of an ancient land. We stand together in mourning the loss of Anwar Sadat and rededicating ourselves to the cause for which he so willingly gave his life.

There are moments in history when the martyrdom of a single life can symbolize all that is wrong with an age and all that is right about humanity. Anwar Sadat, a man of peace in a time of violence, understood his age. In his final moments, as he had in all his days, he stood in defiance of the enemies of peace, the enemies of humanity. Today those of us who follow him can do no less. And so to those who rejoice in the death of Anwar Sadat, to those who seek to set class against class, nation against nation, people against people, those who would choose violence over brotherhood and who prefer war over peace, let us stand in defiance and let our words of warning to them be clear: in life you feared Anwar Sadat, but in death you must fear him more. For the memories of this good and brave man will vanquish you. The meaning of his life and the cause for which he stood will endure and triumph.

(Atonement and Holy Flight) may have been involved. This group, a band of urban guerrillas seeking to transform Egypt into a rigid Islamic state, exhorts its members to use "sacred terror" to achieve its objectives and is known to have built cell groups within the armed forces

A more widely held view, especially among some Western observers, was that the attack was part of a larger plot aimed at deposing the Sadat regime and installing an uncompromisingly Arab nationalist, anti-Israeli government. It is argued that a chain of command existed that reached from the assailants through some radical field officers, perhaps even a brigadier, to one of Egypt's most famous political exiles, Lieut. General Saadeddin Shazli, 59. Shazli, who was the Egyptian army's chief of staff and one of the heroes of the 1973 war, was later relieved of his command by Sadat, who blamed him for allowing the Israelis to break through the Egyptian lines and cross to the west bank of the Suez Canal. Four years later, after Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, Shazli quit as ambassador to Portugal. He remained in exile and formed an anti-Sadat group, the Egyptian National Front, based in Damascus. After Sadat's murder, Shazli declared in Algeria, where he now lives: "Sadat was doomed from the day he went to Jerusalem. Anyone who follows in that traitorous path will similarly be doomed."

There was no direct evidence that either the Soviet Union or Libya was involved, though it is possible that some Libyan money found its way into the hands of the plotters. Israeli intelligence officials had indicated for some time that they were worried about penetration of the Egyptian army and intelligence community by anti-Sadat elements, reputedly backed by the Libyans and the Soviets. In fact, Israel's intelligence chief flew to Cairo last month to discuss the matter with Egyptian officials. The Israelis also suspected that anti-Sadat elements were planning a major operation, but they did not know its precise nature

Assuming he can hold dissident forces in check, Mubarak's first task will be to address himself to the problems of ruling Egypt. No doubt he will attempt immediately to confirm the loyalty of the army. He is likely to promote some officers, retire a few, perhaps announce a pay hike for all ranks. He will promise to uphold Egypt's 1971 constitution and its vision of democracy: Egypt is certainly not yet such a state, but under Sadat, autocratic as he was, it became more democratic than it had ever been before. To satisfy the fellahin—the peasants—and particularly the Islamic fundamentalists, he will try to find ways to ease the problems of the country's poor. He may also attempt to conceal some of the more blatant signs of Westernization that have offended orthodox Muslims, particularly the open displays of ostentatious spending by the very rich

There is a sense throughout Egypt that the economic promise held out by the peace treaty with Israel has never been realized. Thus far, advantages and liabilities have canceled each other out. The per capita income of Egypt's 43 million people has remained stable at around $420 a year. With the peace treaty, Egypt lost economic aid from 16 Arab countries, including $2 billion a year from Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, it earned $2.5 billion on oil sales last year, much of it from fields in the Sinai returned by Israel; Egyptian workers in other Arab countries bring home about $2.7 billion a year; and foreign investments since 1979 have totaled $550 million. On the balance sheet alone, the Egyptian Establishment is likely to support Mubarak in his continuation of Sadat's economic policies

A key element in the equation is Israel —and the varied reaction of Israelis to Sadat's death underscored their confusion. The country's leaders, men like Begin, President Yitzhak Navon, former Defense Minister Ezer Weizman and Labor Party Leader Shimon Peres, who knew Sadat and worked with him, were genuinely moved and saddened. Right-wing extremists were overjoyed, anticipating that Sadat's death might mean Israel would retain its hold on part of the Sinai. Residents of Yamit, the big Israeli settlement on the northern Sinai coast, began to wonder if they would be able to cling to their homes after all. The answer was no. As President Navon put it, "We did not make peace with one man, great as he was, but with the people of Egypt. We are duty-bound to continue."

Jehan Sadat receives condolences from Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford in her Giza residence

Egypt's Mubarak is embraced by Begin

Yet, deep down, there was also fear, particularly among Israel's leaders, old and new. Observed Interior Minister Yosef Burg, who is also the chief negotiator with the Egyptians in the autonomy talks: "Now we shall find out if a man or an idea was killed." Moshe Dayan, the former Foreign Minister, suggested that Israel must continue to take part in the negotiations but must "check seven times over with seven eyes who is running the new Egypt and how strong is his commitment to peace." Ariel Sharon, Begin's Defense Minister, warned that Israel must keep itself strong, "for we are a lonely country, and small, in an area where shocks are a daily occurrence."

There was very little public awareness inside Israel that the country's refusal to budge significantly on the Palestinian issue had contributed to Sadat's recent problems: as long as a wider Palestinian settlement (going beyond the Camp David autonomy provisions) was not in sight, Arab moderates like Sadat would steadily lose ground to the rejectionists. But there also was impatience in Israel with the views of the right wing. As a Jerusalem lawyer put it, "When I hear those people talking about stopping the Sinai withdrawal because of Sadat's assassination, it hurts me to say that perhaps we as a nation did not deserve Sadat, were not mature enough for his vision."

On the Arab side, the reactions were even more disparate. A few states were stunned—Morocco, Oman, and the Sudan, which had been Sadat's closest ally and, like Egypt, had suffered from Lib-

Sadat's coffin is carried to prayer service; the world's leaders march in procession

The funeral nears its destination, the pyramid-like Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

ya's belligerency. But in Libya, happy flag-waving crowds shouted their approval. In Lebanon, Palestinian commandos danced in the streets as if celebrating a victory. "We shake the hand that pulled the trigger," said one fedayeen commander. Palestine Liberation Organization Leader Yasser Arafat, who was in Peking, declared: "What we are witnessing is the beginning of the failure of the Camp David agreement with the fall of one of its symbols." A number of other Arab governments were outwardly unsympathetic but inwardly troubled. The Saudis broke with Sadat over Camp David but still saw him as a counterweight to the regimes in Syria and Iraq, with whom they are united only by their opposition to Israel. Both Syria's President Hafez Assad and Jordan's King Hussein are vulnerable to the kind of Muslim fanaticism that brought down Iran and troubles Egypt. As one Western diplomat said of Assad and Hussein, "They won't be reviewing military parades for a while."

The real perceptions of the Arabs, and particularly the Palestinians, toward Sadat are exceedingly complex. Leaving aside Gaddafi (as well as that non-Arab Muslim fanatic to the east, Iran's Ayatullah Khomeini, who late last week called on Egyptians to overthrow "the dead Pharaoh's successors" and replace his government with a Khomeini-style Islamic republic), the Arabs felt betrayed by Sadat. What was statesmanship to the West was treason in their eyes. Of course, they envied him: they could not forgive him for getting back more Arab land by negotiating than they had achieved by other means. They were impatient; his patience seemed boundless. They felt he had given away his soul for the Sinai; he maintained to his death that he had never signed a separate peace. They were angered by his trip to Jerusalem; even more, they resented his unwillingness to change course when the autonomy talks seemed to be going nowhere. They blamed him for the Israeli raid on the Iraqi reactor last June, which took place just three days after Sadat and Begin had talked in the Sinai. Either Sadat had approved the raid on Arab territory, they said, or he had been duped by the Israelis.

"He gave away so much in return for nothing," said Musa Mazzawi, a Palestinian spokesman who lives in London. Explained another distinguished Palestinian, Edward Said of Columbia University: "After Camp David, the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem was assured, the settlements on the West Bank increased, and the destruction of Lebanon and its people continued with even greater ferocity by Israeli troops and warplanes. The rule of the Israelis on the West Bank became even more oppressive. The setback to the Palestinian people by the treaty was incalculable. All of this happened after Camp David, and so it is hard to reconcile the realities with the praise that is being showered on Sadat by the Western media."

Whatever overtures Mubarak makes

toward the other Arab governments will presumably be tentative ones, at least until April. Most observers think he will avoid a military showdown with Libya, especially if he feels uncertain about his own army. But he is known to be worried about Libya's recent air strikes inside the Sudanese border. In fact, two days before Sadat's death, Mubarak was in Washington asking for faster delivery of American arms to the Sudan.

In his dealings with the other Arabs, Mubarak may have one advantage over his mentor: he is in a better position to bring about a reconciliation with some of Egypt's traditional friends, such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Says Nadav Safran of Harvard University: "The Riyadh-Cairo axis is a natural one, but it was disrupted by Sadat's signing of the peace treaty and the dilemma in which the Saudis found themselves. If they supported Sadat, they exposed themselves to immediate danger from the P.L.O., Iraq, Syria and others; if not, they would lose Egypt. They chose the latter, expecting it to be a temporary alienation. But Sadat personalized his quarrel with Saudi Arabia, and it became a matter of personal pride." Sadat's death, reasons Safran, "will bring about a natural rapprochement between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, and that is important for the U.S. and for the region."

Almost unheard and unnoticed during the early part of the week was the Soviet Union, which issued a condolence message of studied correctness. Later in the week, Soviet papers declared that the assassination revealed the depth of opposition to Sadat's policies and accused the U.S. of using his death to "frighten the Arabs." But except for those outbursts in the press, the Soviets remained quiet. They will certainly try to work their way back into Egypt, where they have been so long deprived of a significant role. But for the moment they can sit back and reap the rewards of Arab frustration over the West Bank, the Israeli settlements, the AWACS debate and everything else that is not going right for the U.S.

The Reagan Administration does not enjoy the same luxury. It has lost its best friend in the Middle East, a man on whom four U.S. Presidents have relied, have admired for his sometimes reckless courage and have forgiven for his errors. Because he was so bold, Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and the peace process that followed became a broad channel for breaking out of the impasse of the preceding three decades. Sadat trusted his friends; he expected them to understand that he was not making a separate peace, and in the end he was not well served by U.S. Administrations that failed to press the Israelis toward a wider settlement. "I attribute a certain amount of blame to the U.S. for what happened to Sadat," says Hermann Eilts, former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt. For almost two years, says Eilts, Washington has followed a "policy of almost total inaction on the broader Middle East peace treaty. This made people like Sadat very vulnerable. He counted on the U.S. to move the peace process forward."

While Sadat remained outwardly confident, privately he must have realized that the Reagan Administration lacked not only a clear Middle East policy but a sense of urgency about the region and, worse, was giving the Israelis reason to think that Washington would apply less pressure toward a settlement than the Carter Administration had done. Sadat was discouraged about the autonomy talks, having made clear that he could not accept the very limited form of Palestinian self-government envisaged by Israel. But he readily agreed to the resumption of negotiations. He urged the U.S. to try to include the P.L.O. in the talks but received no support. He accepted Reagan's strategic-consensus plans and allowed the U.S. to expand the Egyptian airbase at Ras Banas on the Red Sea for possible use by the Rapid Deployment Force. As the pressures mounted at home, Sadat grew almost desperate for some real progress in this stage of Camp David, but he could find no way to achieve it.

Sadat beside the pyramids at Giza in 1977

He broke the impasse of decades.

Washington realizes that it will not see Sadat's like again, but it is encouraged by the way Mubarak has taken charge. Said Secretary of State Alexander Haig: "We are greatly assured that the policy will be one of continuation of the Sadat legacy." Assuming that all goes well domestically, U.S. officials agree that, in time, Mubarak will seek ways to renew ties with his Arab neighbors and look for alternative approaches to peace. Many Western diplomats believe that Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd's plan, announced two months ago, which offered peace to Israel in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from territory occupied in 1967, was a constructive effort to enlarge the scope of the negotiations. The Fahd plan, TIME has learned, was worked out in close consultation with Arafat and thus might provide a basis for bringing the P.L.O. into the peace process. But that prospect is still anathema to the Israelis. As William Quandt, a Middle East expert, observes, "The hardest thing for Mubarak to do in the next six months is going to be to send reassuring and credible signals to the Israelis while at the same time beginning the slow process of rebuilding ties to the Saudis, the gulf states and Jordan."

As the week ended, leaders from all over the world gathered in Cairo to pay final tribute to Anwar Sadat. François Mitterrand and Helmut Schmidt were there, as were Prince Charles, Begin and Sudanese President Gaafar Nimeiri. Among the members of the American delegation, in addition to the three former Presidents and Rosalynn Carter, were Haig, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and Henry Kissinger. They paid courtesy calls on Mubarak and on the widowed Jehan Sadat. She also, of course, met with Begin, to whom she said: "It is very sad, but I am glad my husband died on his feet and not on his knees."

For security reasons, the ceremonies, which took place at midday Saturday, were held far from the normally tumultuous streets of the great city. As it was, police had to fire into the air to disperse a crowd of 2,000 people who had merely wanted to attend the service. Sadat's casket, draped in the Egyptian flag, was flown by helicopter from the mosque of the hospital to a sports stadium in Nasr City, then carried on a horse-drawn caisson for the final 800 yards to the very reviewing stand where Sadat had been mortally wounded four days earlier. Seated in the same row in which he had fallen, his wife and family received condolences from the mourners before the casket was moved to a hastily constructed tomb in front of the Unknown Soldier pyramid. As the Sadat family stood beside the tomb, pallbearers carried the coffin to its grave. After final prayers from the Koran, Sadat's Republican Guard presented arms. There was a roll of drums, and a single bugle sounded taps. It was over.

Sadat had once said that he hoped to be buried on Mount Sinai, as a symbol of the peace he had brought to Egypt. On other occasions he spoke of being laid to rest at Mit Abu el Kom. But in the end, the government decided the burial should take place at a public site near the capital. Mubarak explained: "He was a statesman, one of the biggest in the world. How could you put him in a very small place?" —*By William E. Smith. Reported by Robert C. Wurmstedt and Wilton Wynn/Cairo, with other bureaus*

A Faithful Pupil Takes Over

Out of the shadow, a hand-picked successor

It may have been, as Anwar Sadat would have believed, the hand of fate that brutally tore him from the world stage. That same hand narrowly bypassed Sadat's most attentive pupil and long-chosen successor, who was at the President's side when the bullets slammed into the reviewing stand. Hosni Mubarak, 53, Egypt's Vice President since Sadat picked him for the post in 1975, emerged from the assault with no more than a bandaged left hand as a memento of his narrow escape.

Mubarak's accession to the presidency this week fulfills two of Sadat's chief wishes: to see his policies continued, and one day to leave power to a member of Egypt's "October Generation," the men in uniform who helped regain Egyptian self-esteem by their initial victories in the 1973 October War. Sadat had first met Mubarak in the Sinai town of El Arish in 1950; impressed by the young air force officer, the President remembered his name two decades later while searching for a commander for his air force.

Mubarak got the job and won plaudits in 1973 for his handling of the air battle against Israel's superior, U.S.-equipped air force. Two years later Sadat named Mubarak, a man from the President's home province of Menoufia, to the vice-presidency, a decision that surprised virtually everyone, including the appointee.

Despite three pilot-training tours in the Soviet Union, Mubarak is outspokenly anti-Communist and contemptuous of the Soviet military equipment on which Egypt relied until 1973. (He once told Sadat that the Egyptian air force would not accept MiG-23 fighters, "even if the Russians give them to us free.") He shares Sadat's instinctive, pro-Western orientation. Mubarak's wife of 21 years, Suzanne, is of both British and Egyptian descent; she is a social sciences graduate of the American University of Cairo. Mubarak's two sons, Alaa, 20, and Gamal, 17, are American University students.

President-designate Mubarak after attack

An heir from the "October Generation."

Where Mubarak differs from Sadat is in his approach to problem solving: a pragmatist is taking the place of a prophet. Says a Western diplomat who knows both men well: "Sadat was the pioneer and innovator. Mubarak will be the consolidator." The President-designate has had 6½ years to study his new role, with Sadat as his intimate mentor. Sadat's visitors became accustomed to seeing the stocky, taciturn Mubarak sitting near the President, quietly taking notes. Whenever Sadat had one-on-one meetings, as at Camp David, he later briefed Mubarak minutely. "There was nothing he did or said that I did not know," says Mubarak.

That closeness, that life in the President's shadow earned Mubarak mocking nicknames of "Sadat's Sadat," "court jester" and "empty face" among Egyptian critics. As one disgruntled parliamentarian put it before last week's tragedy: "Someone should tell Sadat that there are more than 40 million other Egyptians who should have something to say about who will be President." Nonetheless, U.S. officials who have dealt with Mubarak rate him highly. He has been "carefully tutored," says one, with emphasis. Notes a Washington analyst: "A lot of Egyptian politicians have fallen by the wayside during the Sadat era, but Mubarak has come out on top."

The most telling compliment to Mubarak's abilities came from Sadat himself. Mubarak chaired Cabinet meetings in Sadat's absence, held sweeping authority on national security matters and conducted important diplomatic missions abroad. "I know he will approve," Mubarak used to say, when he would authorize an action. "I will tell him about it later." The ultimate approval is now Mubarak's. ■

"No Change"

Barely 48 hours after the assassination, President-designate Hosni Mubarak was interviewed by TIME *Correspondents Wilton Wynn and Robert C. Wurmstedt. Excerpts:*

On the transition. You have seen a smooth transition. President Sadat gave our institutions a strong base.

On Sadat's assassins. They are a very limited group. They are fanatic Muslims. There will be an investigation, but we don't believe they have any connection with any foreign power.

On the Camp David peace process. I will continue the policy President Sadat started. We are going on with Camp David and the autonomy talks. The next meeting is Oct. 25, and there will be no change. I told an Israeli reporter, "Go tell your people, don't worry." When we reach agreement on the principles of autonomy, we will tell the Palestinians, "This is what we can reach." It's up to them to go on from there. I am optimistic about the autonomy talks. We hope the Palestinians accept what we can achieve. But we are not talking for the Palestinians.

On relations with the U.S. We will continue to improve them. We will carry the U.S. as a full partner in the peace process. We are committed to Camp David.

On relations with the Soviet Union. I am not a Communist. I am an Egyptian. I like those who cooperate with us, those who deal with us on an equal basis and do not interfere in our internal affairs, those who help us when we are in need.

On the advantages of U.S. *vs.* Soviet military equipment. American quality is much more advanced than that of the Soviets. In the October War we were fighting with old technology against new, sophisticated technology. We hadn't a single plane that could reach Israel. The Israelis could reach Cairo, and that gave our people complexes.

On rapprochement with other Arabs. We did not cut relations. They did. We'll have to wait and see.

On Libya, and possible U.S. action against Gaddafi. I don't want to ask for this now. I'm taking a wait-and-see position. What's on now is a continuation of President Sadat's policy, and he tried to have better relations with Libya. We want to deal with countries on a solid basis. We don't want to agree on something and then be undermined. We respect our word and would like others to do the same.

On the AWACS sale debate. Saudi Arabia is a very close friend of the U.S. Saudi Arabia has increased its oil production for the sake of the U.S. and the West. The gulf is an area of U.S. interest and defending the gulf is in the interest of the U.S. The AWACS has no guns. It can't carry bombs. I'm astonished that Israel is raising hell against it. It's of no danger to Israel.

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A Nasty Reality of Our Times

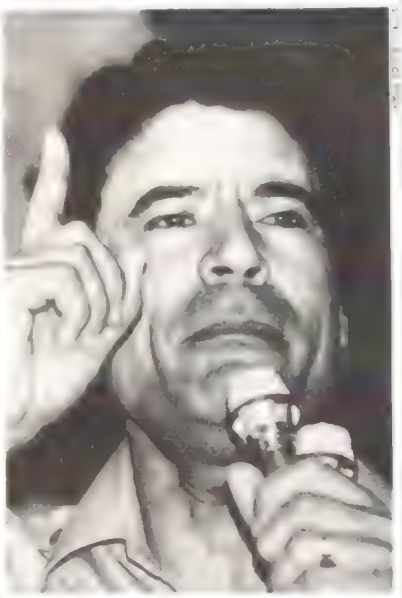
Cairo's chaos heightens concern over the Gaddafi regime

In the shock and upheaval that followed the Sadat assassination, one prime initial suspect as the instigator of the crime was inevitable: Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi. In a closed-door briefing for U.S. Congressmen, Secretary of State Alexander Haig last week noted that the exultant broadcasts of Radio Tripoli hailing the killing were so intense that, in his judgment, they must have been prepared ahead of time. In a rare public moment of harsh sorrow, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger declared on television that if Libya had been "taken care of," Egyptian President Anwar Sadat might still be alive.

As the impact of the Cairo tragedy softened, so did the language. Both Haig and Egyptian officials on closer examination declared that direct Libyan involvement seemed unlikely. But Libyan jubilation over the killing heightened U.S. perceptions of Egypt's next-door neighbor as an outlaw state and an increasingly bothersome trouble spot. Said a U.S. State Department official: "Libya is beginning to rival the Persian Gulf as the focus of strategic concern in the region. Now that Egypt, the only certain counterweight to Libya, is under a cloud, that concern can only increase."

The record of Gaddafi's addiction to international mischief is almost as long as his twelve-year dictatorial reign. As Vice President George Bush put it last week: "He's the world's principal terrorist and trainer of terrorists." Gaddafi has provided funds for the provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army, harbored terrorists from West Germany's Red Army Faction and Japan's Red Army, and backed extremists in the ranks of the Palestine Liberation Organization. While his role in last week's assassination is disparaged, his hand in other, failed plots against Egypt is a certainty. For four days in 1977, Libya and Egypt clashed in a brisk border war.

Through part of Northern Africa, Gaddafi's policy has been one of creeping expansionism, limited only by his narrow base. There are only 3 million Libyans and it already takes 500,000 foreigners to operate his economy. Nonetheless, in December, he frightened French-speaking African countries (and angered France) by rolling his tanks into neighboring Chad, and subsequently announcing the "merger" of the two countries. He has mounted numerous coup attempts against the regime of Sudanese President Gaafar Nimeiri, whose country protects the lifeblood of Egypt, the Nile. Last week the Sudanese government declared that a group of foreigners arrested in Khartoum had been trained in Libya as part of another plot. Gaddafi has stockpiled $12 billion worth of mainly Soviet-supplied military equipment that some analysts fear could be the underpinning for a future Soviet rapid deployment force in the Middle East. Last August two Libyan jets fired upon (and were destroyed) by U.S. F-14 Tomcats over the Gulf of Sidra. Most important, Gaddafi is in the forefront of those Arabs who oppose the Camp David accords. That makes him an automatic opponent of any Egyptian leader, including Hosni Mubarak, who intends to continue Sadat's peace initiative. Says a British analyst: "There is an irrationality in Gaddafi's makeup that defies explanation, and makes it virtually impossible to correctly assess his policies by any normal yardstick."



Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi
Irrationality that defies explanation.

The frustrations of dealing with such a leader have led to some extreme ideas as a solution. "If someone fired a few bullets at Gaddafi we would all breathe a sigh of relief," said an Israeli official last week. That is not a course many nations would consider. Certainly not the U.S., which not so long ago suffered through revelations about CIA plots to kill Castro. Says a State Department official: "Assassination as a tool of foreign policy is a repugnant idea to this Administration and to the American people." Quite apart from the moral caveat there is a practical reason for caution: Gaddafi's successor, wherever he is, could well be worse.

Another theoretical possibility is an invasion of Libya by outside forces. Sadat is known to have lamented that he did not seize the chance to do so in the early '70s, before Gaddafi consolidated his hold on power. Now such aggression would court major risks. Attacking Libya from Egypt, for example, would involve a brutal campaign across vast expanses of desert; with their plentiful arms stockpile, Libyans might do better than anyone expected. Even if Egypt won, other Arab nations like Syria might rally behind Libya in a display of Arab solidarity, thus widening the conflagration.

A tactic much endorsed in some Israeli circles would be an effort at full-scale destabilization of Gaddafi's regime by stirring up trouble in Chad and elsewhere along Libya's borders, meanwhile forming a rival Libyan government-in-exile, based, perhaps, in Egypt. Says a Western expert: "There are plenty of Libyans in exile who previously held important posts in Tripoli and who have been anxious to go back." The trouble is, he continues, that none of them have demonstrated "a capacity to accomplish anything inside Libya." The Reagan Administration has stepped up military aid to Egypt, Tunisia and Sudan, but the assistance is designed for defensive purposes.

More direct confrontation by Western industrialized nations could involve economic sanctions against Libya, including a purchase boycott of its 1.5 million bbl. a day of oil production. With the porous, U.S.-sponsored embargo against Iran as a vivid reminder of failure, the Reagan Administration does not think much of boycotts. Moreover, crude imports from Libya still constitute 12% of U.S. foreign oil consumption; the ratio is higher for West Germany and Italy. Even if all Western nations complied with the boycott, Libya could probably sell its oil to the Soviet Union and other East bloc countries. Despite his anti-imperialist rhetoric, Gaddafi has carefully nurtured his relations with foreign oil companies operating in Libya: even after the Gulf of Sidra incident, none of the 2,000 U.S. oil company workers in the country were molested or abused. Nor did Washington order their evacuation.

In short, there is not much that can be done. One hope in Western chanceries is that the Libyans themselves eventually will tire of Gaddafi, "a nasty reality of our times," as one diplomat calls him. Though the dictator has made careful use of Libya's oil wealth to raise the living standard of his people, there are signs that such a change is possible. Elements of the Libyan middle class are said to be unhappy with Gaddafi's nationalization of many private properties in the name of his mystic *Jamahiriya* (State of the Masses), and Libyan youngsters are reportedly growing restive under Gaddafi's compulsory military service. The West will watch such trends, continue to express its repugnance at Gaddafi, his goals and his methods —and wait. ***—By George Russell. Reported by Roland Flamini/Cairo and Roberto Suro/Washington***

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He Changed the Tide of History

Anwar Sadat: 1918-1981

His life was a skein of contradictions. Long a bitter foe of the Jewish state, he became Israel's only declared friend in a hostile region. A self-styled defender of the Palestinians, he was cursed as a traitor by the leaders of their cause. He preached the unity of Arab nations, but his policies shattered such fragile fraternity as existed, and isolated his country. A onetime revolutionary firebrand and career military man, he died in a hail of bullets—yet history will remember Anwar Sadat, above all, as a man of peace.

It was the search for peace that led the Egyptian President, in November 1977, to travel to Jerusalem and embrace his former enemies. Not only did he break a 29-year Arab ban on direct dealings with the Israelis, he went straight to the rostrum of the Knesset to proclaim his willingness "to live with you in permanent peace and justice." More dramatically than any event since the birth of Israel in 1948, that courageous gesture transformed the political realities of a region bloodied and embittered by continual hate, war and violence. As it is given to few individuals, with a single, personal stroke he altered the landscape of history.

Until Sadat's pilgrimage, no leader on either side of the Arab-Israeli blood feud had shown the courage, vision and flexibility to seek a radical solution to the festering problem. His hosts were at first surprised, then exalted, by his unexpected overture. As Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin then put it: "We, the Jews, know how to appreciate such courage." So did the tens of thousands of Egyptians who, upon his return, greeted their smiling President with chants of "Sadat! The man of peace" as his open limousine slowly made its way from the airport to his home in Giza.

The peace process initiated by Sadat ultimately bore fruit at Camp David the next year. Over a period of 13 days, Sadat, Begin and Jimmy Carter remained cloistered in that Maryland mountain retreat while they hammered out their historic "framework for peace." (Their joint efforts brought Sadat and Begin the Nobel Peace Prize for 1978.) The Camp David principles were embodied in a formal treaty that was signed by the three leaders in an emotional White House ceremony on March 26, 1979. For the first time in 31 years, Egypt and Israel were no longer in a state of war.

Sadat could not know it, but that day also marked the pinnacle of his career, the closest he would come in his lifetime to realizing what he called his "sacred mission" for peace in the Middle East. Said he: "This is certainly one of the happiest moments of my life. In all the steps I took, I was merely expressing the will of the nation. I am proud of my people and of belonging to them."

In a familiar pose, Sadat puffs on his pipe and meditates at his summer home near Ismailia

"If he reached at least one oasis, he could point the way out of the wilderness."

That sense of belonging was one of the guiding forces of Sadat's life. "I can never lose my way because I know that I have living roots in the soil of my village," he wrote in his 1978 autobiography, *In Search of Identity*. One of 13 children, Sadat was born on Christmas Day, 1918, in the Nile Delta village of Mit Abu el Kom. His father was a military hospital clerk, his mother an illiterate Sudanese. He spent his early years working in the fields and attending the village *kuttab*, an Islamic school where he learned to read and write and studied the Koran. It was the beginning of the lifelong religious faith that, in later years, left the familiar Muslim mark on his forehead from touching the floor in frequent prayer.

Sadat grew up with a hatred of Egypt's colonial British rulers and an almost fanatical admiration for Mahatma Gandhi. Confides Sadat's sister Sekeena: "When he was a little boy, he used to dress like Gandhi and pretend to be him." But if Sadat showed something resembling Gandhi's spiritual dimension in his later years, his early attempts to bring political change to Egypt were anything but nonviolent.

Sadat was admitted in 1936 to the Royal Military Academy, where he first learned the value of bold, decisive action along with the uses of power and force. After graduating in 1938, he joined a group of young officers, including Gamal Abdel Nasser, who plotted an armed revolt against the British presence. At that time, Sadat was the hothead talking of blowing up British installations; the cooler Nasser dissuaded him.

During World War II, Captain Sadat collaborated with the Germans in several anti-British plots, which landed him in jail in 1942. Arrested again two years later in connection with the assassination of a pro-British Egyptian aristocrat, Sadat remained in prison until his trial and acquittal in 1948. Shortly after his release, he divorced his first wife and married Jehan Raouf, a beautiful Anglo-Egyptian girl who eventually gave him four children (he had three by his first marriage).

Reinstated in the army in 1950, Sadat joined Nasser in the coup that toppled King Farouk two years later. Sadat held a variety of posts under Nasser, distinguishing himself mainly by a slavish obedience that led colleagues to dub him "Nasser's poodle." Nasser apparently appreciated his docile loyalty and named him Vice President in 1969. A year later, Nasser was dead of a heart attack and the little-known Sadat became President.

Most observers then saw Sadat as a feckless transitional figure. He soon proved them wrong by warding off an attempted coup, jailing its instigators and consolidating his power. At the same time, he boosted his popularity by abandoning the most repressive trappings of Nasser's socialist state, although he would never give the country more than a semblance of democracy under his own effective dictatorship. He also turned away from his predecessor's obsessive pan-Arabism in favor of a more nationalistic concern with Egypt's welfare. In his most significant break with Nasser's policies, Sadat in 1972 abruptly abandoned Egypt's long-standing alliance with Moscow and expelled some 17,000 Soviet military advisers from his country. The way was now clear for Sadat's new course: a strategic rapprochement with Washington that could help Egypt end its wasteful confrontation with Israel.

Paradoxically, the key step in Sadat's peace plan was a new war. With all diplomatic channels to peace apparently blocked, Sadat launched a surprise attack

across the Suez Canal into the Israeli-occupied Sinai on Oct. 6, 1973. His goal: to bolster Egyptian morale, prove that Israel was not invincible and force Jerusalem to return the lands seized in the Six-Day War of 1967. Stunned and driven back at first, the Israelis counterattacked strongly and reversed the tide. But it was enough for Sadat to claim a moral victory. With the restoration of Egyptian self-respect, he began a series of peace initiatives.

Enter Henry Kissinger, whom Sadat greeted as his "dear friend Henry," and whose painstaking shuttle diplomacy produced two Sinai disengagement agreements by 1975. But that was as far as Kissinger could take the peace process.

In January 1977, just as the new Carter Administration was taking office, violent food-price riots in Cairo and Alexandria put new pressures on Sadat to channel Egypt's resources into peaceful priorities. From that seeming dead end, Sadat made the historic leap of imagination that sent him to Jerusalem with an olive branch—and ultimately produced the 1979 peace treaty.

The pact brought gradual but dramatic changes in the Middle East equation. For the first time, the two countries exchanged ambassadors and opened their borders; Israel promised to return the occupied Sinai to Egypt, a process due to be completed by next April; and talks were begun on the thorniest of questions —Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza. But autonomy continued to remain the most formidable obstacle to a broader Middle East peace, with the Begin government defining the concept with excessive narrowness and the Palestinians boycotting the process altogether. The treaty enraged other Arab leaders, who accused Sadat of treachery for abandoning the struggle against Israel. Eighteen Arab nations imposed economic and political sanctions against Cairo. Meanwhile, Egypt was becoming more and more dependent on U.S. support.

Sadat was also faced with increasing sectarian opposition within Egypt during the last months of his life. In September he cracked down hard, jailing 1,600 opponents, mostly Islamic militants, in the wake of bloody rioting between Muslims and Coptic Christians. The mosques were "nationalized," police details were bolstered on university campuses and an investigation of the state bureaucracy began. Following these moves, Sadat declared in a tough speech that "lack of discipline in any way or form" had ended in his country. This time, however, the visionary statesman and consummate strategist had fatally misjudged the situation: his killers emerged from a cauldron of seething unrest and fanaticism.

"In Egypt," Sadat once wrote, "personalities are more important than programs." Nothing illustrated that point better than his own career. If his programs changed markedly over the years, he always pursued them with the relentless force of his own personality. Those who met him were usually dazzled by the charm, grace and warmth of his manner. Recalls former Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Yigael Yadin: "He immediately created a relationship of sincerity, friendship, frankness and warmth, and in this way he was like a member of the family."

Sadat, Carter and Begin on the White House lawn during 1979 treaty-signing ceremony

The pinnacle of his career, the closest he would come to realizing his "sacred mission."

Yet the ready embrace and winning smile could also mask his inner thoughts. Says William Quandt, a former Middle East expert on the National Security Council: "Sadat was a hard man to read. He didn't always communicate what was on his mind so he would catch you by surprise." He could be intentionally devious on occasion. At the first Camp David session, Sadat read a list of hard-line demands that almost broke up the talks on the spot. His strategy, Quandt later concluded, "was to manufacture a crisis that would force the U.S. to step in and start offering proposals." The gambit worked, while Sadat retired to virtual seclusion in his cabin. Carter began suggesting compromise positions to both sides.

In spite of his seeming amiability, Sadat was not a gregarious man and had few intimate friends. One of them, wealthy Egyptian Contractor Osman Ahmed Osman, recalls that Sadat would remain with him "for two or three hours without saying a word, just chewing his pipe and thinking." A favorite Sadat pastime was a contemplative afternoon walk along the Nile near one of his ten residences.

Sadat enjoyed the comforts and perquisites of his rank, but hardly to excess. Apart from a weakness for fine English suits and imported Dunhill pipe tobacco, his tastes and habits were simple. He usually ate only one light meal each day. A devout Muslim, he never drank wine or liquor. He liked to spend quiet evenings at home watching private movie screenings, usually of American westerns.

No workaholic, Sadat slept eight hours a night, rarely awoke before 9 a.m. and insisted on a three-hour nap each afternoon. He avoided paperwork, preferring to deal with the broad picture and leave the details to his subordinates. He was so averse to reading official documents that when Cyrus Vance brought him Jimmy Carter's invitation to Camp David, Sadat asked Vance to read it to him aloud.

But what some might call a lazy man's schedule gave Sadat a chance to think, and that made an enormous difference to the world. It took a lot of patient walking and pipe chewing to reach his crucial decisions. His longtime counselor Sayed Marei, who was wounded in last week's shooting, once observed that, "he takes a long time to make up his mind, but once he makes it up, it never changes."

That quality of decisiveness, followed up by action, is what distinguished Sadat from his peers. "A leader of the Arab world usually waits for something to happen, then he counterpunches," says L. Carl Brown, director of Near East studies at Princeton University. "What was fascinating about Sadat was that he took initiatives. That's not the usual Arab style. Sadat was in a class by himself." Says Harvard University Professor Nadav Safran, a Cairo-born Jew: "Sadat broke away in order to lead. He broke away in order to explore the road ahead, at great risk to himself. He proved that his instinct and vision were correct, that if he moved ahead far enough and reached at least one oasis, he could point the way of the caravan out of the wilderness."

Anwar Sadat believed so completely in his mission that he was prepared to perish rather than change direction. And from that faith came the courage to face the dangers before him with his oft-repeated dictum: "This is my fate. I have accepted my fate." —***By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Dean Brelis/New York and Wilton Wynn/Cairo***

A Man with a Passion for Peace

BY HENRY A. KISSINGER

Few if any world figures were as close to Anwar Sadat as former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. During 21 months of shuttling between Egypt and Israel in 1974 and 1975 in his effort to bring peace to the Middle East, Kissinger met Sadat literally dozens of times, and the two men achieved a rapport that went far beyond the often forced friendliness of most diplomatic relationships. In the following piece, Kissinger movingly describes the characteristics that propelled Sadat to the center of the world's stage, and kept him there. Kissinger is currently working on the second volume of his memoirs, Years of Upheaval, *which* TIME *will excerpt, and which will be published by Little, Brown in March 1982.*

Isaiah Berlin once wrote that greatness is the ability to transform paradox into platitude.

When Anwar Sadat appeared on the scene, the Arab countries had too little confidence in their arms and too much faith in their rhetoric. The majority of them relied on the Soviet Union, which could supply them with weapons for futile wars but no programs for progress in diplomacy. Negotiations consisted of exalted slogans incapable of achievement; the Arab countries wanted the fruits of peace without daring to pronounce the word. The nations of the West stood on the sidelines, observers at a drama that affected their destiny but seemingly without the capacity to influence it.

Within a few years, Sadat managed to overcome these riddles. He went to war when no one thought it possible and, having restored Arab self-respect, he made a peace that no one had dared to imagine. He moved his people toward a partnership with the West, recognizing that a sense of shared values is a more certain spur to support than a defiance based on striking poses. He eschewed romantic posturing in favor of attainable steps. And he shaped the attainable with a fine sense for the dramatic. He understood that a heroic gesture can create a new reality.

When he died, the peace process was a commonplace: Egypt's friendship with America was a cornerstone of Mideast stability. By his journey to Jerusalem he had demonstrated to our country, obsessed with the tangible, the transcendence of nobility. In the process he had accomplished more for the Arab cause than those of his brethren whose specialty was belligerent rhetoric. He had recovered more territory, obtained more help from the West, and done more to make the Arab case reputable internationally than any of the leaders who regularly abused him at meetings of the so-called rejectionist front.

Sadat bore with fortitude the loneliness that is inseparable from moving the world from familiar categories toward where it has never been. He raised our gaze toward heretofore unimaginable horizons. And when he had transformed the paradox and solved the riddle, he was killed by the apostles of the ordinary, the fearful, the merchants of the ritualistic whom he shamed by being at once out of scale and impervious to their meanness of spirit.

Sadat was a very great man who made the difficult seem effortless. The difference between great and ordinary leaders is rarely formal intellect but insight. The great man understands the essence of a problem; the ordinary leader grasps only the symptoms. The great man focuses on the relationship of events to each other; the ordinary leader sees only a series of seemingly disconnected events. The great man has a vision of the future that enables him to place obstacles into perspective; the ordinary leader turns pebbles in the road into boulders.

SAHM DOHERTY

Chatting at Sadat's home in Mit Abu el Kom last year

A rapport far beyond diplomacy's forced friendliness.

Sadat was a noble man with a passion for peace. One day I sat with him in the study of the modest sandstone house that he used in Aswan. As occasionally happened, Sadat was brooding about something or other, puffing on his pipe. One could see the dhows on the Nile, the mighty river bisecting a very narrow strip of green and flanked on both sides by the vast dunes of a seemingly endless desert. The silence was interrupted by an aide, who whispered something into Sadat's ear. Sadat rose with tears in his eyes, and I got up as well. He embraced me for the first time and said: "They have just signed the disengagement agreement. Today I will take off my uniform. I hope never to have to wear it again." On another occasion, in a military hospital that he was inspecting, he spoke movingly to me of how much Egypt had suffered, how an end had to be put to pointless conflict, how he did not want to send any more young men to die. Egypt needed no more heroes.

But a statesman must never be viewed as starry-eyed. He must have vision and depth; he must also translate his intuition into reality against sometimes resistant material. Sadat was neither starry-eyed nor soft. He was not a pacifist. He did not believe in peace at any price. I never doubted that in the end he would create heroes if no other course he considered honorable was left to him.

Any simple assessment of Sadat is therefore likely to be mistaken. Dozens of visiting Americans were charmed by him. But he was also aloof and reflective and withdrawn. Like many men of power, he had an almost carnal relationship with authority. He could hold his own with small talk, but on deeper acquaintance it became clear that it bored him. He much preferred to spend his idle time in solitary reflection in his restless peregrinations around his beloved country.

His urbanity made it easy to forget his antecedents as a revolutionary struggling for his country's independence and suffering for it in a succession of prisons. Such men are never "regular fellows," however charmingly they present themselves. Revolutionary leadership is a career that can attract only the deeply dedicated. Aloof, pensive, calculating, he took a long view, but he would also insist on achieving it.

Sadat had an uncanny discernment. He handled four American Presidents with consummate psychological skill. He treated Nixon as a great statesman, Ford as a living manifestation of good will, Carter as a missionary almost too decent for this world and Reagan as the benevolent leader of a popular revolution, subtly appealing to each man's conception of himself and gaining the confidence of each. He worked at identifying America's interest with his own.

Sadat analyzed correctly that Arab radicalism tended to reinforce America's special relationship with Israel. This offered America no alternative: it added the argument of strategic necessity to the existing emotional ties. So Sadat set out on a course that would have been considered mad until he proved it possible: to woo the U.S. into a more "evenhanded" posture, to create an emotional bond that would produce an incentive for American assistance in recovering lands the Arabs considered theirs. In this sense the 1977 journey to Jerusalem was at one and the same time an act of nobility and a method of disarming Israel psychologically: a unique gesture of rec-

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This explains Israel's ambivalence toward Sadat. The Israelis, who for decades had been the objects of their neighbors' unremitting hostility, greeted Sadat's overtures at first with incredulity, later with hope, even exaltation. But there was also the gnawing fear that his seduction of the U.S. would ultimately leave Israel alone and friendless in a hostile world. Therefore Israel was torn between embracing Sadat's overture and haggling over its terms, between its own hopes and nightmares. And the last page has not yet been written in a history in which both Israel's hopes and its nightmares could indeed come true.

Sadat was more than the sum of his parts. By one of the miracles of creation, the peasant's son, the originally underestimated politician, had the wisdom and courage of the statesman and occasionally the insight of the prophet. He defied his enemies when abused by them he moved further in the direction he had chosen, to drive home the point that they were powerless to stop him. He transformed our world by an act of will, shaping history according to his own vision, daring to do what all thought impossible.

And there was always the pervasive humanity. When I visited Egypt recently, he invited my wife, my son and me to dinner at his villa by the sea in Alexandria. The table had been set at the exact spot on the lawn where he had negotiated and signed the second disengagement agreement. During the course of the evening, I said that all Americans who had worked with Sadat owed him a great debt, he had made all of us look good. The remark disturbed Sadat, he kept coming back to it. He did not want his labors to be considered personal, it was his duty, not his preference, to restore dignity to his people and give hope to his country and perhaps the world.

I do not want to pursue the argument with my fallen friend. But for once he was wrong. He did make us look good. Only he made it seem too easy, too natural, so that we took him too much for granted. And now that he is no longer with us and we have to journey toward peace alone, it is clear how much we needed him. Whether we will get there falteringly or with a steady stride depends on us. But none who know history will ever forget that we would not be on the journey at all had it not been for Anwar Sadat.

No other people have been so obsessed with immortality as the Egyptians: none have sought to capture time so persistently —at times with defiant boldness, at times passively; now relying on endurance rather than the grand assault, now raising tremendous edifices to faith in the future. In his own way Sadat has moved toward the age-old Egyptian dream of immortality; peace will be his pyramid.

It has been an honor to be one of his contemporaries. ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Bonds of a Very Small Club

The exclusive circle of world leaders has been momentarily broken. Those 25 or 30 men and women who preside over the larger powers have at once been shattered by Anwar Sadat's death, reminded of their own perishability and united in a singular way by the danger in which they all walk. The specter of death attends them all.

From Moscow to Ottawa to Tokyo, Sadat's murder has special meaning to those who lead. The most powerful among them know that they too could be snuffed out in a few seconds' time. There is no doubt of the genuine shock and grief felt by Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. Some of those who know Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev believe that even as his nation coolly looks for advantage in the tragedy, the old Communist, down deep and for a fleeting second, felt remorse that one of the club to which he belongs had been so brutalized.

Leading the major nations that determine history in our time there really are no Hitlers and Stalins, the barbaric killers. There are raging maniacs like Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, who may be used in the power game but will never be in the top clique. Even as the big ones elbow each other, even as they arm as adversaries, there is a feeling that these leaders want to serve their people, not themselves. That is a thin hope for civilization, and one message of Sadat's death.

Those in the leadership fraternity call themselves friends, but true friendship is rare. Always the interests of state must supersede any personal feelings. Whether as friends or adversaries they approach each other with heavy manipulative intentions. They want from each other. They are wary. Jerry Ford may have transcended this kind of calculation, and was a true friend of France's Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Canada's Pierre Trudeau. Honest and decent, Ford was special in his time, spared through Watergate the terrible ordeal of climbing to power and so spared the rituals of political calculation that can twist a man's nature.

The leaders banter about their airplanes and cars, but personal wealth is no longer part of the ruling equation, at least as it was centuries ago. The strongest bond is the shared burden of governing. At one juncture of the SALT I negotiations in Moscow nine years ago, to prove how difficult were Nixon's domestic problems with the treaty, Brezhnev was shown a secret cable from U.S. generals protesting the proposed agreement. Brezhnev smiled, and then whispered that he could show American negotiators almost identical dispatches from his own obstinate military men.

Throughout the postwar years the big leaders have had, according to former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, a code of civility. For all his tough words about U.S. foreign policy, Brezhnev has never personally savaged an American President. Lyndon Johnson once heard that his Undersecretary of State, George Ball, had disparaged Charles de Gaulle. L.B.J. called Ball up and told him to lay off. Leaders contend in the world, but they rarely try to make internal political problems for the other fellow. New club members sometimes have to learn the rituals. Ronald Reagan, who made some pointed remarks about the Soviet character in his first days, has quieted a bit. Reagan has upbraided Israeli policies but not Prime Minister Menachem Begin. There are fraternal proprieties.

John F. Kennedy's funeral caisson

They learn from each other. Carter was startled at Camp David by Sadat's open contempt for some of his fellow Arabs. He saw Sadat rise above the details of government, emerge from silence and isolation with a sweeping vision of peace. John Kennedy sensed De Gaulle's advantage over him because De Gaulle could understand English and Kennedy could not understand French. J.F.K. began secretly to study French.

Whether chosen by his people or by a political elite, each member of the club is remarkable in some way. Each is monomaniac to a point. But each knows his fragility, even as Sadat knew. As Harry Truman put it, "Many people are indispensable. No one is irreplaceable." So it will be this time as the grand lodge of the power wielders mourns, and then moves on.

Their faces showing strain and sorrow, Ronald and Nancy Reagan appear before the press on White House portico after Sadat's death

A True Diplomatic Test

The Administration faces dangers and opportunities in the Middle East

It was the most poignant moment in the Administration's brief history. On Tuesday afternoon, Ronald Reagan, with an ashen-faced Nancy at his side, stepped out from the foyer of the White House State Floor to the North Portico, there to issue a brief statement on the death of a "close and dear friend," whom they had welcomed to the White House just two months before. There was grief and anger in Reagan's voice as he denounced the assassination of Egypt's President Anwar Sadat as "an act of infamy, cowardly infamy." The shock and concern of official Washington were also written large on the faces of scores of dignitaries at a memorial service held in the stately National Cathedral.

Policymakers in the nation's capital had been stunned by the news, and the reasons why went well beyond the widespread admiration of the visionary Egyptian leader. Foreign policy has not been the Administration's strong point because the White House has been concentrating on pressing domestic concerns. All too often, the President and his aides have seemingly reacted to events as they occurred. The absence of a real strategic design has been notably true in the Middle East, where Reagan's policy, at least until recently, consisted of little more than an obsession with Soviet expansionism, uncritical support for Israel and ever deepening reliance on Sadat. His assassination now presents U.S. diplomacy with new dangers and opportunities. It has yet to prove that it can handle them successfully.

Sadat's importance to the U.S. can hardly be overstated. First and foremost, of course, he was the one Arab leader who had the imagination and courage to make peace with Israel. Beyond that, he had transformed Egypt, the most populous Arab nation, from a Soviet client to a steadfast U.S. friend. Under Sadat, Egypt played many pro-American roles besides rapprochement with Israel: it was a buffer and counterweight to the pro-Soviet and pro-terrorist Libyan regime of Muammar Gaddafi to the west; guardian of the Sudan to the south; defender of the Suez Canal; indispensable base and staging area for any U.S. forces that might have to be rushed to the Middle East to protect the Persian Gulf oilfields.

Moreover, all these roles rested not on written agreements but on personal understandings between Sadat and the American Presidents and diplomats with whom he dealt. Says one senior American military officer: "Geography guaranteed Egypt a central role in any Mideast military equation, but it was Sadat who made Egypt the linchpin of our strategy." Adds former Under Secretary of State Joseph Sisco: "Personality is more important to diplomacy in the Middle East than in any other part of the world. The question of personal trust often looms larger than economic, political and strategic conditions."

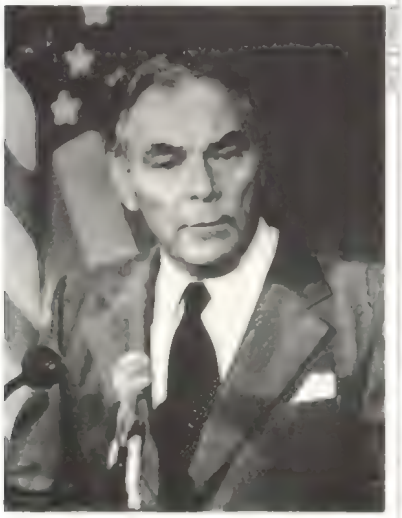
Washington's first task will now be to forge with Sadat's successor-designate Hosni Mubarak an alliance as close as possible to the one it had with the slain President. Mubarak has already accepted an invitation from Reagan to visit Washington next year. The U.S. will probably speed up deliveries of military equipment to Egypt to replace the Soviet tanks, guns

and planes delivered before 1972, which still constitute the country's main armaments. That might help Mubarak, a former air force commander, overcome disaffection within the Egyptian officer corps. The U.S. is also likely to supply more military aid to the Sudan, which is threatened by Libyan aggression and subversion. Acting as Sadat's envoy, Mubarak had been pleading for that aid in Washington only two weeks ago.

Washington will probably also press for conclusion of some agreements it had been secretly negotiating with Sadat. The U.S. Rapid Deployment Force had been scheduled next month to conduct a training exercise in Egypt similar to Operation Bright Star in November 1980; in addition, Sadat had been discussing a program under which small groups of American forces could use Egypt's Western Desert to train for warfare in the Middle Eastern sands. Secretary of State Alexander Haig will undoubtedly seek Mubarak's approval for these projects in talks following Sadat's weekend funeral. Haig may also press Mubarak for a formal commitment to let the U.S. stockpile, at the Egyptian airbase of R'as Banas, supplies that the R.D.F. could pick up on its way into a Middle East battle. Sadat had agreed to make the base available, but only in a letter to Jimmy Carter; Congress will doubtless insist on something more substantial than the word of a dead leader to a President no longer in office before it votes to commit $500 million to improve facilities at the base.

Completing these projects, however, will require exquisitely tactful diplomacy. Too much pressure put on Mubarak too quickly could jeopardize his chances of cementing his hold on his own country. Mubarak cannot afford to be seen as an American lackey.

The U.S. will also try to promote a reconciliation between Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Chances of such an alignment may have slightly improved with Sadat's death. When the rulers of Saudi Arabia and Jordan denounced his peace initiative toward Israel, Sadat showered them with personal insults, thus adding to their enmity. A new alliance of moderate Arab states, however, might result in drawing Egypt further away from the U.S., rather than bringing Saudi Arabia and Jordan closer. The killing of Sadat has sent a wave of fear through the Middle East. Says one Saudi diplomat: "First the Shah [of Iran], now Sadat—it is fatal to be America's friend."



Secretary of State Haig at press conference

The good omen was a new self-confidence

G.O.P. Senators (front: Howard Baker, S.I. Hayakawa) after meeting with the President

Worse, an Egyptian-Saudi-Jordanian coalition could well terrify Israel, leading it either to balk at returning the rest of the Sinai to Egyptian rule on schedule next April, or to continue stalling on negotiations with Cairo to provide autonomy for the 1.3 million Palestinian Arabs of the occupied West Bank and Gaza, or both. The Reagan Administration has proved notably unwilling to lean on Israel in any way that would assuage Arab fears. Washington's ineffectual protests against Israeli air raids on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, and on Palestinian areas of Beirut, were widely and bitterly noted in the Arab world. The Arabs, moreover, have been unmoved by U.S. pressures to form a "strategic consensus" against the Soviet threat. They regard Israel's intransigence on the Palestinian question as a more immediate provocation than the menace from Moscow.

Picking its way through this snarl of conflicting interests would be a formidable task even for an American Administration that had evolved a forceful, consistent foreign policy. The Reagan Administration is far from that position of strength. In the Middle East, one key aim is to reassure the Saudis of American friendship; the primary method of doing that is pressing the sale of AWACS radar planes, and that deal is still in deep trouble in Congress. In the broader area of foreign policy, the Administration has blown hot and cold on dealing with the Soviet Union and is relying heavily on a huge American military buildup. But Reagan's nuclear-arms plans also have stirred doubts among the legislators.

Some greater cohesion in foreign policymaking may now be possible. Secretary of State Haig appears to have survived the bureaucratic wars and reemerged as the leading voice of U.S. policy. After Sadat's death, he successfully insisted that there be no formal Administration comment until he could deliver it himself. He did so at a press conference where he spoke with a self-confidence and authority only sporadically present before.

Still, there are some damaging gaps. The State Department on some occasions has failed to mesh with National Security Adviser Richard Allen, who is supposed to coordinate the foreign policy advice reaching the President. Allen, however, lacks the easy access of his predecessors; he reports to Reagan through Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese. Some Administration insiders worry that Reagan is not getting the detailed analyses of foreign policy problems and options that would normally come from a strong National Security Adviser. That is an especially serious burden for a President who lacks expertise in foreign affairs.

The abrupt loss of an influential friend like Sadat in an all-important region of the world would be a severe blow for any Administration. In Reagan's Washington, it opens a time of testing for a foreign policy apparatus that is still in the formative stage. —*By George J. Church. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

Debating the Debate

Critics launch the first-strike attack on Reagan's defense plans

"He's been successful in developing a package of decisions that will satisfy nobody completely. The doves and the hawks and the moderates will all have some objections." So said retired Army General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1962 to 1964, summing up the debate over President Reagan's $180 billion program to beef up America's nuclear forces. Sure enough, when Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger visited Capitol Hill last week to sell the proposals, he was greeted with a barrage of skeptical questions fired from both sides of the aisle.

Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman David Jones confers with Weinberger at House hearings

Fighting a barrage of skeptical questions from both sides of the aisle.

Reagan had rejected a plan recommended by Jimmy Carter to shuttle the new MX missiles among thousands of shelters in a vast "drag strip" in Utah and Nevada. The most heated grilling of Weinberger involved the Administration's alternative plan: temporarily housing the first 36 of the 100 proposed MX missiles in "superhardened" Titan II missile silos. Appearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Defense Secretary began his testimony by trying to clarify the "window of vulnerability," a term used to describe the period in which American land-based missiles could possibly be wiped out by a surprise Soviet attack. He warned: "That window will be at its widest in the period 1985 to 1986 because we have not modernized our strategic forces as we should have in the past."

Republican John Tower of Texas, committee chairman and a supporter of the drag-strip approach, acidly noted that the hardened silos would hardly make the MX invulnerable. "What is recommended does not enhance the survivability of the MX missile," he asserted. Democrat Henry Jackson of Washington argued that by shielding the MXs in fixed silos, "we're giving the Soviets a better target." Weinberger quickly fired back: "I don't agree, Senator." The Secretary pointed out that the silos solution was only temporary, and that strengthening the silos did protect the missiles. Said Weinberger: "Whatever we gain is worth it."

The most damaging doubts came not from a Senator but from the man sitting next to Weinberger at the hearings. Dressed smartly in a blue Air Force uniform with four gleaming silver stars, General David C. Jones, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, candidly admitted that he still favored the drag-strip approach. "I remain to be convinced that the alternative provides survivability," said Jones. "I reserve judgment whether it would be wise to go ahead with hardening." The general hastily added that he and the other service chiefs fully support Reagan's decision. "I found out a long time ago," Jones drily explained, "that it was more important for me to convince the Commander in Chief than for the Commander in Chief to convince me."

The questioning was no less sharp from members of the House Armed Services Committee, who quizzed Weinberger next day. Chairman Melvin Price, an Illinois Democrat, complained that the Pentagon lacked proof that "36 MX missiles in Titan silos will be any less vulnerable than the missiles presently in those silos." Many House members, as did some Senators, also attacked the Administration's plan to build 100 new B-1 bombers at a cost of $200 million apiece. The plane is scheduled to start rolling off Rockwell International assembly lines by 1986, and is designed to replace the aging B-52s until the "Stealth" bomber can be completed, which Weinberger says will be by 1989. But critics contend that the price tag is too high for a plane that will be obsolete by the late 1980s, when the Soviets may well have improved their air defense systems to foil the B-1s. Said Democratic Senator Gary Hart of Colorado: "We cannot afford both bombers, and the Stealth is the more formidable of the two."

Weinberger is said to be disappointed that so much attention has been focused on the MX missile and B-1 bomber decisions. He feels that Reagan's proposal to improve U.S. radar and satellite communication systems, which went all but unquestioned at the hearings, is just as important as building new weapons. With these improvements, the President would be better able to launch a retaliatory strike while an enemy attack was under way, but before all American silos had been hit.

If these ingredients of the program have been ignored by the President's critics, it is largely because Reagan has emphasized that a window of vulnerability is about to open. "If you believe that the window is anything more than a pencil-and-paper calculation, then it's true this program doesn't go far enough," says William Kincade, executive director of the Washington-based Arms Control Association. "But I don't believe it anyway." Other defense experts are also skeptical about the window; even some of those who do believe in it stress that only the leg of land-based missiles in the triad of air, sea and land missiles will soon become vulnerable. And as the U.S. improves the accuracy of its own missiles, Moscow has reason to fear for the vulnerability of its missiles in case of an American attack.

Many of those who buy the notion that the U.S. is staring out that window argue nevertheless that some of the $180 billion targeted for the programs might be better spent elsewhere. Chief of Staff Jones, for example, fears that the heavy commitment to the MX, B-1 and Trident submarine programs will drain funds away from improving the nation's conventional military forces. Indeed, there is one aspect of Reagan's proposals that draws universal agreement: the price tag is too low. Weinberger admitted last week that the cost of the six-year program was figured in 1982 dollars. By the time inflation takes its bite, he said, the bill is likely to hit $222 billion. —*By James Kelly. Reported by Bruce W. Nelan/Washington*

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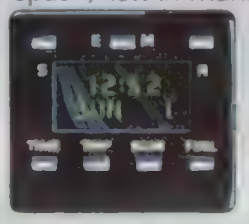

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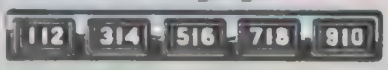

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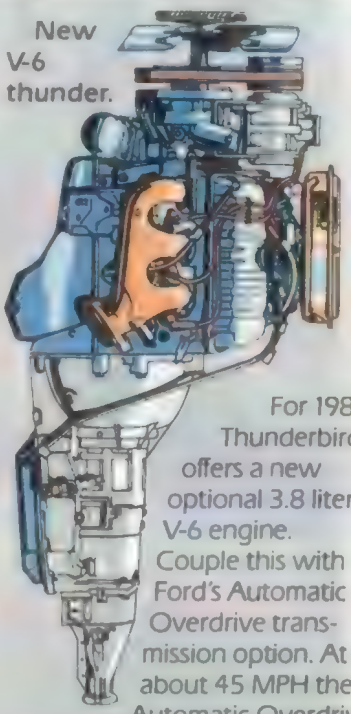

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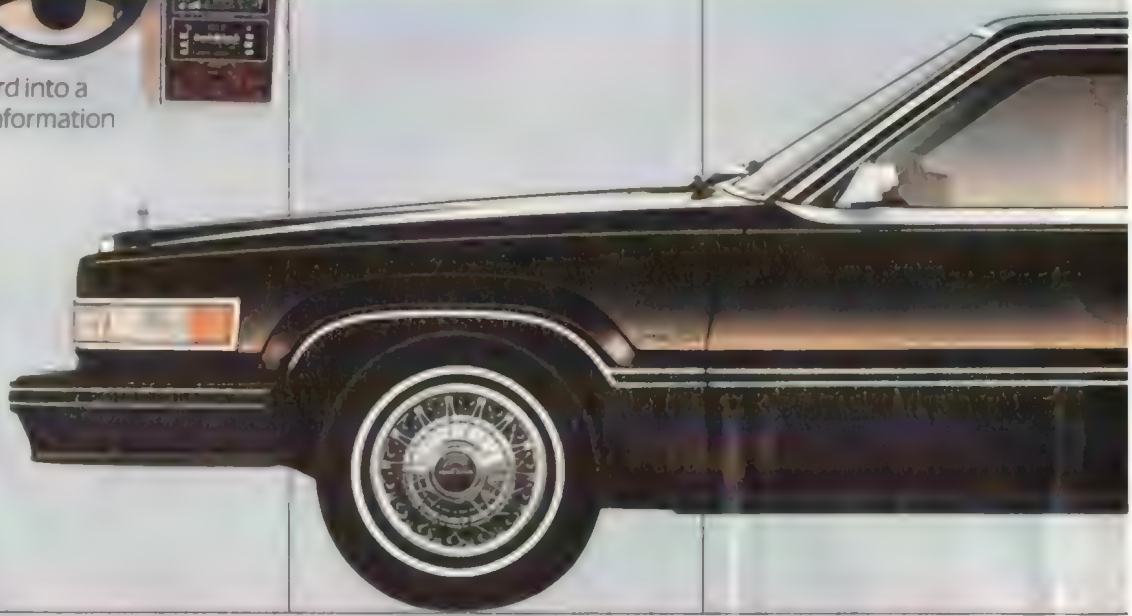

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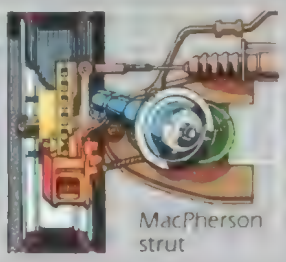

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Once Again, AWACS on the Line

But Sadat's death revives the sale in the Senate

Each side claimed that the tragic events in Egypt last week made its case more compelling. Opponents of the Reagan Administration's plan to sell five AWACS surveillance planes to Saudi Arabia argued that the murder of President Sadat illustrated the folly of selling some of America's most advanced weapons technology to potentially unstable Middle Eastern regimes. Proponents answered just as vigorously that Sadat's death underscored America's need to support its few remaining allies in the area. Both arguments swirled in and around the Senate, where the Foreign Relations Committee is scheduled to make its recommendation this Thursday. The proposal had seemed all but dead until last week, but in the aftermath of the assassination, some Senate opponents are having second thoughts.

President Reagan strongly stressed the connection between Sadat's death and congressional approval of the AWACS deal when he met with 43 Republican Senators in the East Room of the White House. "The sale is particularly important in light of the tragedy of yesterday," he said. Indeed a defeat, which would mark the first time that the Hill had blocked an arms deal, would tarnish Reagan's projection of authority abroad and represent a slap at the Saudis.

After two opponents of the sale, Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota and Slade Gorton of Washington, rose to argue, Reagan jutted his jaw and retorted: "You're going to cut me off at the knees. I won't be effective in conducting foreign policy." Gorton objected to the President's implication, at his press conference two weeks ago, that opponents of the sale were under the influence of Israel. Said he: "Prime Minister [Menachem] Begin doesn't control my vote." Shot back Reagan: "You may not think Israel is controlling your vote, but the world will." When Boschwitz objected that the Saudis were in "no way" a moderating force in the Middle East, Reagan replied: "I hear you, Rudy, but the country that used to war on Israel was Egypt, and look at its change of heart."

Reagan's lobbying last week began to turn the tide. "I've come to the conclusion that if ever there was a time to support the President, this is it," said Utah's Orrin Hatch, who had opposed the sale. Reagan assured Hatch that the Saudis would not fly the AWACS within 150 miles of Israel's border and that the U.S. would offer the Israelis unspecified help to bolster their defenses. Alan Simpson of Wyoming, a former opponent, was also convinced. Said he: "It's in the best interest of this country and the best interest of Israel that we do this."

Israel, however, still believes that the sale is not in its best interest. In New York City last week, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir attacked the Saudis as a "major obstacle" to peace. Said he: "Saudi extremism against the peace process stems from a fanatic hatred of Jews and Israel." His diatribe may reflect worries in Jerusalem that the Administration's hitherto benign attitude toward Israel is changing for the worse. TIME has learned that in two recent cables to his government, Israel's Ambassador to Washington, Ephraim Evron, expressed concern that a proposed memorandum on U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation, due to be signed next month, omits a plan to store in Israel equipment for three U.S. armored divisions. Evron also predicted that American economic aid to Israel, currently $2.2 billion, may be reduced in fiscal 1982. The State Department insists that the Ambassador's fears are unjustified.

The AWACS deal can be blocked only by the no votes of both chambers. Defeat is virtually certain in the House, where the Foreign Affairs Committee last week voted 28 to 8 against the sale. In the Senate, Reagan still needs to change at least seven more votes to save it.

As one way of picking up support, the Administration is backing a resolution originally proposed by Democrat Sam Nunn of Georgia and co-sponsored by Republican John Warner of Virginia. The details were worked out at Warner's Georgetown home with Presidential Aides James Baker, Richard Allen and Edwin Meese. The Nunn-Warner Resolution, which is backed by 24 other Senators, would place general restrictions on the use of any exported AWACS. Among them: no third country would have access to the technology or the information gathered without U.S. consent, all data must be continuously shared with the U.S., and the planes would be adequately protected. Reagan has agreed to write the provisions of the resolution into the final U.S.-Saudi contract. The Administration hopes that this concession will not only secure the votes of Warner, Nunn and their supporters, but will also win over John Glenn. Because of his expertise on this issue, the Ohio Democrat could sway perhaps a dozen or more votes.

The Administration also won the backing of 16 former defense and national security officials—including Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Robert McNamara and Melvin Laird—who gathered at the White House to proclaim their support. Said Kissinger: "I believe the sale is essential for the peace process in the Middle East." The Administration hopes to pick up Jimmy Carter's public support after he returns from the Sadat funeral.

"We're going to win," a top aide to the President exulted as he watched the Senators changing their minds. "I feel good about it for the first time." But it will not be that easy for the Administration. As Georgia's Nunn put it: "Until now they've been lost in their own end zone. Now they're finally on the playing field. But it's still a long, long way to score." *—By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Douglas Brew and Johanna McGeary/Washington*

AWACS supporters rallying around Reagan at the White House*

"You're going to cut me off at the knees," the President warned his opponents

*Former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, National Security Adviser Richard Allen, Kissinger, Reagan, former Advisers Brent Scowcroft and Zbigniew Brzezinski and former Defense Secretary Harold Brown

Reaganomics: Too Many Voices

The chorus of advisers is singing off-key

"They've all sold out, every one of them." That dour assessment came from Jude Wanniski, a fanatic believer in supply-side economics, after a visit to the White House last week. By "they" he meant members of the President's economic team, who in Wanniski's zealous view have all but abandoned supply-side theory—one of the basic doctrines of Reaganomics.

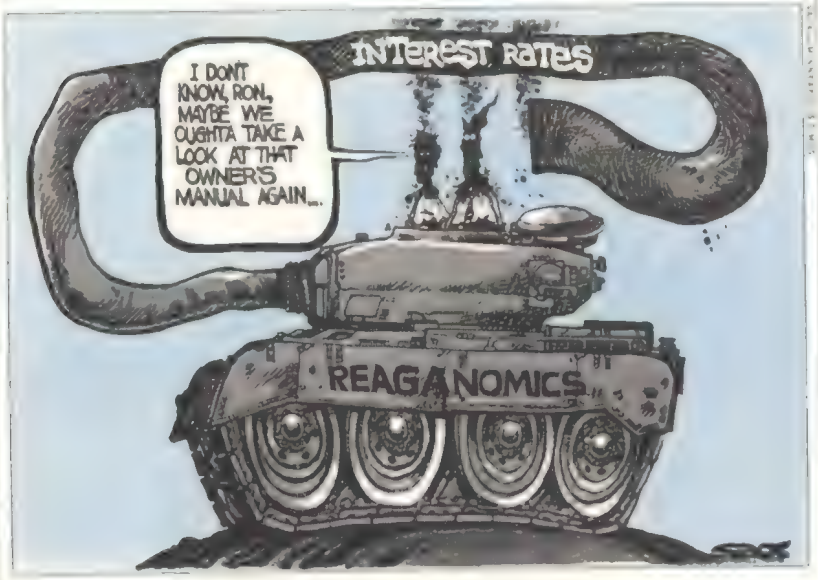
The economic religion preached by Ronald Reagan has always accommodated the beliefs of two different sects. On one side of the aisle sit the supply-siders, who believe that by slashing taxes Washington can stimulate economic growth; on the other side sit the monetarists, who believe that Washington can slow the inflation rate by tightening the nation's money supply. Now, nagged by persistently high interest rates and the threat of a recession, this uneasy choir of Reagan's economic experts is no longer singing as if with one voice, and the cacophony can be heard from Wall Street to Capitol Hill. True believers in Reaganomics, of course, can justifiably argue that their religion is not a failure, since its trial has only just begun.

One wanderer from the true faith appears to be Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, who along with Budget Director David Stockman and Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Murray Weidenbaum is a member of Reagan's "economic troika." Regan last week called upon the Federal Reserve Board to loosen the tight money supply. He merely wanted the Fed to honor its own targeted growth rates for the money supply and avoid choking the economy, but to monetarists looser money is absolute heresy.

Weidenbaum called Regan and asked him, "What's going on here? We've got to be talking with one voice." The CEA chairman told Regan he agreed with the Secretary's statement in principle but was opposed to the Fed pumping more money into the economy now. Then, at a breakfast meeting with reporters the next day, Stockman implicitly contradicted Regan by arguing that the Fed should keep the brakes on the money supply. As Regan continued to attack the Fed's tight money policy on a two-day speaking tour, Treasury Under Secretary Beryl Sprinkel tried to get his boss to soften the rhetoric. Regan, however, refused to include in his speeches the suggested changes dictated over the phone by Sprinkel's office. At week's end it became clearer why Regan seemed so sure of his footing. Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese told the Business Council at a meeting in Hot Springs, Va., that the President agrees with his Treasury Secretary on the need for the Fed to increase the money supply slightly.

In San Francisco, both Regan and Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker addressed the annual convention of the American Bankers Association. Regan made his now familiar pitch for the Fed to live up to its stated policies, adding that "I'm not saying anything publicly that I have not said for weeks in private." But Volcker pointedly rejected Regan's advice and stated flatly that he would not start pumping additional money into the economy. Volcker also denied that Regan had privately asked him to boost the money supply. Aside from their policy differences, there is little love lost between the two men. Volcker declined to appear at a joint press conference with the Secretary and left the San Francisco Civic Center shortly before Regan arrived to give his speech. "Volcker does not think Regan is the greatest Treasury Secretary in the world," grumbles one Treasury official. "Volcker thinks he knows more about economic policy than anybody else, even God."

But the squabble between Regan and Volcker is merely symptomatic of the disagreements that have been simmering for months among Reagan's economic advisers. From the beginning, critics of the Administration have complained that Reaganomics is riddled with contradictions. They predicted that the President's twin offensives, stimulating the economy by slashing taxes and braking inflation through tight money, would result in continued high interest rates and sluggish growth. The supply-siders and monetarists in the Administration kept an uneasy peace as the White House marshaled its forces to push Reagan's economic program through Congress last summer.



The united front began to crumble in September as it became clear that the package of tax and budget cuts was not making Wall Street bullish. The reason: high interest rates and fear of ballooning federal deficits. Stockman, who saw the spiraling interest rates as a way to justify his budget-cutting offensive in September, began blaming the rates on the deficits. When his plans for shaving Social Security benefits proved politically suicidal, the OMB chief committed himself to a supply-side heresy: he suggested a delay in carrying out some of the tax cuts just passed by Congress.

Regan then uttered his own heresy against Reaganomics by suggesting that the deficit could be pared by raising billions of dollars through jiggering the tax system. Though the President's message last month called for only $22 billion in ill-defined "revenue enhancement" measures, TIME has learned that Regan initially instructed his aides to find ways to raise $50 billion in new revenue over the next three years. Supply-siders fear that these measures will never be passed and Congress will instead opt to erase some of the individual tax cuts. Supply-side economic theory will then never have been tested at all.

Administration officials deny that its economic advisers are speaking in disparate voices. "There is a major, underlying core of agreement on the program that has been there all along," says Martin Anderson, White House adviser for domestic affairs. "No one disagrees with the broad thrust." Adds Weidenbaum: "We're all in tune. There are no ideologues among us."

After Regan's attack on Fed policies, the White House pressured the agencies involved to produce some agreed-upon

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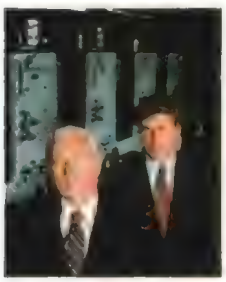

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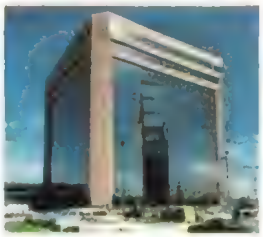

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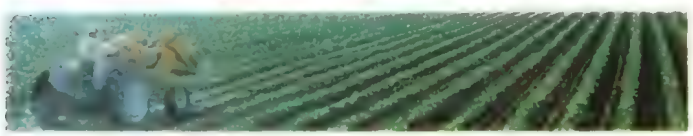

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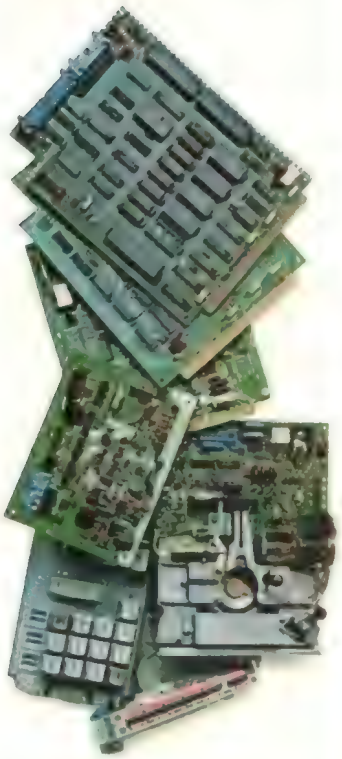

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"guidance" that all spokesmen could adhere to. A memo of understanding, signed by Sprinkel and Stockman's top economic aide, Lawrence Kudlow, among others, said that all concerned agreed on a steady slow growth of the money supply, which the Fed was moving to accomplish. The message ended: "Nothing which has been said in recent days indicates a retreat from that commitment." A White House spokesman as much as admitted that concern about economic disunity had been only temporarily stilled. Said he: "I don't think you'll hear much about that—for a few days anyway."

In fact, the discord is being heard on Capitol Hill. Support for the President's economic programs among once loyal Republicans is beginning to weaken in Congress. "There are a lot of different signals," complained Republican Representative Jack Kemp of New York. In the House, Democratic leaders, with the help of Republican defectors, last week pushed through an appropriations bill for social programs to cost $87.3 billion in fiscal 1982, some $4 billion more than Reagan had wanted. Though the bill came within a whisker of matching Reagan's first round of budget slashes, it did not include the additional 12% across-the-board cuts the President had asked for last month. Nevertheless, 39 Republicans ended up voting against sending the bill back to committee for paring. The White House threatened to veto the bill, and House Republican leaders say they have the votes to make the rebuff stick.

In the Senate, meanwhile, three influential Republicans are tinkering with Reagan's revised schedule of budget cuts and "revenue enhancements." The trio, Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Pete Domenici of New Mexico and Robert Dole of Kansas, do not contend that Reagan's proposal is not needed, but only that he made the wrong choices. Said Domenici: "There's great concern that the President's mix won't work." Though the alternatives being offered by Hatfield and Domenici differ in specifics, both want to slice more out of the defense budget than the $2 billion requested by Reagan. Predicted Dole: "The Democrats are just going to sit back and see what we propose and then tell us how unfair it is."

Clearly Reagan can no longer make Congress do his bidding as easily as he did last summer, but chances are that he will win a large share of his second round of cuts. Even if the defense budget is pruned more than he would like, the Administration's economic program will be far from crippled. Reagan never promised a quick fix for the economy, and despite the growing chorus of worries about Reaganomics, the program needs time to be fully tested. Only then will the country be able to judge fairly whether or not the President's policies work. *—By James Kelly. Reported by David Beckwith and Neil MacNeil/Washington*

A Vision of Voluntarism

Calling for a return to a self-help society

If Ronald Reagan's vision of a regenerated America could be painted, there is no question about which artist would best execute the commission: the late Norman Rockwell. The President's dreams for the future seem almost wholly derived from a sweeter, simpler, stout-hearted past. During his televised plea for a second wave of budget cuts last month, he seemed eager to finish with the drab statistics and demands for sacrifice, and get to the part where his idealism could shine.

The President's ideal: volunteer fire fighters in New England, circa 1910

"An essential part of our plan to give government back to the people."

"I believe the spirit of volunteerism lives in America," the President concluded. "We see examples of it on every hand: the community charity drive, the rallying around whenever disaster strikes. The truth is, we've let Government take away many things we once considered were really ours to do voluntarily, out of the goodness of our hearts and a sense of neighborliness. I believe many of you want to do those things again."

Apparently they do. After the speech, the White House received hundreds of approving letters that specifically cited Reagan's hopeful exhortation to mutual aid. The President picked up the theme again last week, in a speech to business executives: "Voluntarism is an essential part of our plan to give Government back to the people. Let us go forth and say to the people: Join us in helping Americans help each other." Reagan said he would appoint a 35-member Presidential Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives.

As a sign that Reagan means business, the voluntarism project at the White House has been placed under the supervision of one of his top aides, Michael Deaver. Deaver foresees a two-pronged effort: first, to promote successful private-sector models of social service. Reagan cited a Philadelphia ghetto shelter for 500 street youths founded by David and Falaka Fattah. In spite of losing some federal funding, Falaka Fattah is resolute: "We didn't start with Government money. We're going on." The Administration further intends to help eliminate any bureaucratic impediments to voluntarism. As Reagan noted in last week's speech, "Mothers and grandmothers have been taking care of children for thousands of years without special college training. Why is it that certain states prohibit anyone without a degree in early childhood education from operating a day-care facility?"

Reagan does have U.S. history in favor of his new campaign. From Benjamin Franklin, organizing Philadelphia's fire department (even today 85% of U.S. fire fighters are volunteers), to the army of people who now donate their time to hospitals, schools, museums and town governments, Americans are predisposed to good works. In 1980 individuals donated $43 billion to charity, on the average 1.8% of their incomes. One of every four Americans does some form of volunteer work.

There is evidence, besides those missives to the White House, that Reagan's plea for voluntarism struck a national chord. John H. Filer, chairman of the Na-

tional Alliance of Business, notes that 100 corporations immediately joined the N.A.B.'s first major fund-raising drive to explore ways of reducing chronic unemployment, and that top executives of 65 life insurance firms gathered two weeks ago to discuss possible corporate solutions to social problems. In Denver, six coalitions of volunteers have quietly formed to seek ways of helping people hurt by the budget cuts.

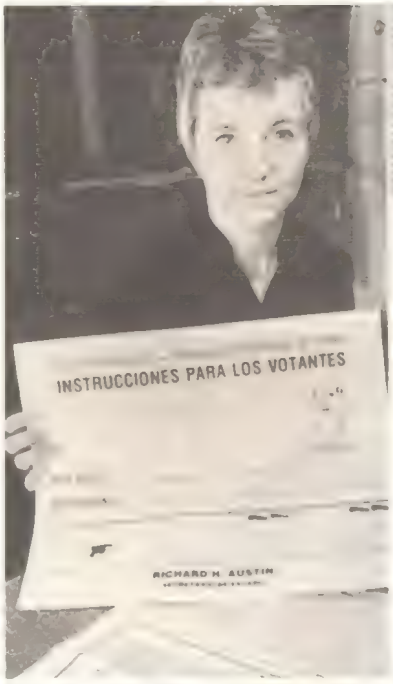
In explaining Reagan's goals, Deaver emphasizes that voluntarism is not a surrogate for slashed federal programs. Says he: "It is something that should stand on its own merits." True enough, but inevitably there are those who see voluntarism as a Reagan antidote to the shocks of budget cutting, and therein lies a problem.

The trims that went into effect on Oct. 1 mean that every day there are roughly 100 million fewer federal dollars to spend on social programs and the arts. The cuts have set off a scramble among nonprofit groups, from museums to soup lines, in search of new benefactors. Says Brian O'Connell, president of Independent Sector, a coalition of 335 corporations and philanthropies: "I'd hate to turn off a President who's trying to encourage voluntary activity, but he should not exaggerate: we can't pick up all the slack."

Businesses and foundations, which together account for only 10% of all U.S. philanthropy, are being pressed hard for greater generosity. Says Eugene Wilson, executive director of the Atlantic Richfield Foundation: "New people are calling us, and we're getting requests for double and triple the dollars from organizations we've funded in the past." Boston's Digital Equipment Corp., among many companies, is similarly besieged, with a doubling of grant requests since March. Says Digital's Nancy Dube: "We can't be all things to all people."

Beyond writing checks, unpaid labor is at voluntarism's heart. "I think people are turned on to help," says Tom Aglio, director of the Orlando (Fla.) Catholic Service Center. "I think the troops will come through." Yet a mob of green troops may not be the answer. "We've already had an explosion of voluntarism," says Winifred Brown, executive director of the Mayor's Voluntary Action Center in New York City. "Institutions many times are not ready for them. Voluntarism needs to be planned for." Brown recommends employing a paid coordinator of volunteers. Officials point out that there are many jobs, such as drug-abuse counseling, that are beyond the capacities of nonprofessionals.

Even expertly managed private altruism cannot fill all the sudden gaps in federally funded social services. But now the citizen's obligation to help unfortunates, while no greater than before, is more compelling. —*By Kurt Andersen. Reported by David Beckwith and Douglas Brew/Washington, with other bureaus*



Ready to register Hispanics in Clyde, Mich.

'60s Flashback

Voting rights soar in the House

"It was just like old times. We creamed 'em." The nostalgic reference was to the historic legislative victories on civil rights in the 1960s. The happy speaker was California Democratic Congressman Don Edwards, a veteran of those past triumphs. The cause of his glee was the smashing vote, 389 to 24, by which the House last week extended key provisions of the most successful civil rights law of all: the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The act, parts of which will expire next year unless the Senate also agrees to extend them, had seemed threatened by the conservative drive against centralized power in Washington and the reluctance of Ronald Reagan to support it. Conservatives, especially in the South, argued that the act had done its job and it was time to get the Federal Government off the backs of the 800 counties in 24 states whose election procedures are monitored under the law. Indeed, the number of blacks registered to vote in the South had risen from 29% to more than 50% and the ranks of black elected officials in the region had grown from fewer than 100 in 1965 to 1,813 last year.

But with the Reagan Administration retreating on school integration and affirmative job action, civil rights advocates were determined to prevent any backsliding on voting laws. They rallied more than 160 diverse organizations, including the American Bar Association, Common Cause and the League of Women Voters, and applied intense political pressure on members of the House. "For the first time in a long time the old historic coalition was working together," observed Texas Democratic Congressman Mickey Leland.

A series of hearings was held in Montgomery, Ala., by the House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, headed by Edwards. Illinois Republican Henry Hyde, a member of the Judiciary Committee who had strongly opposed an unmodified extension of the law, changed his mind after these sessions. Said he: "I listened to witness after witness testify that voting rights violations are as flagrant today as they were 16 years ago."

Political realities were just as persuasive. Many of the "boll weevil" Democrats who voted for Reagan's sharp cutbacks in social programs come from districts with a significant percentage of black voters. These constituents are mad enough already and would be outraged by any refusal to extend the act. The Administration is similarly under heavy pressure to prove that it has some sympathy for minorities, and thus cannot afford politically to oppose the voting act renewal. Still, Reagan, who says he supports the act "in principle," has postponed taking a stand on its specific provisions.

Although the House vote was overwhelming, the debate on some provisions was emotional. "We want to be treated like everyone else," shouted Louisiana Republican W. Henson Moore, protesting a requirement that any county now covered by the law must demonstrate that it has done nothing to discriminate against minority voters for ten years before it can get out from under federal supervision. All counties covered must have advance approval from Washington before changing their election procedures.

The extension of the act goes beyond a recent Supreme Court decision by declaring that a state voting law can be ruled illegal if its "effect" is to discriminate. The court had ruled that a state must be shown to have "intended" to discriminate before its procedures could be struck down. This change was hotly debated. Also controversial was extension of the current requirement that bilingual voting materials be supplied in any election district where 5% or more of the voters are Hispanic or native American.

Supporters of the law are preparing for a more difficult fight in the Senate, which is scheduled to consider the extension in January. There the Judiciary Committee is headed by South Carolina Republican Strom Thurmond, who has argued for loosening the act. Whether he succeeds may depend on what position the President finally takes. ■

The SmithKline Forum for a Healthier American Society Vol. III No. 7 October 1981

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Outsiders see a bright picture of the The Times of London. But we must keep

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune...

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

America is not sliding into depression. The prophets of economic doom and gloom, so popular on the best-seller lists, so articulate on the television talk shows, are wrong. Revival of prosperity in the United States is attainable. Objective reasons exist for greater confidence, and more confidence is needed to boost savings and investment and to move the nation's economic engine more swiftly into high gear.

Building a strong economy is crucial if the United States and its President are to play a forceful role in the international political arena. American leadership has been undermined by economic dislocation at home but now, at last, a more buoyant economy is being developed that can aid the President in his bid to promote a more peaceful and stable world.

The American View

Too often Americans describe the difficulties of this nation's economy in such bleak terms that it appears as if the problems can never be solved and that the weight of current hardship is too great to carry for much longer. A sense of perspective is necessary. Real bleakness is the endless waiting in line for the barest quantities of food that is the daily routine of the Polish people. Disastrous inflation is not the 10 percent U.S. variety, but the triple digit type in Israel and some South American countries. And real economic hardship is, alas, the lot of hundreds of millions of people in developing nations.

The View From Abroad

Foreign businessmen, in contrast, see from a distance that this nation is now coming to grips with its economic ailments. Belief in a new era of American prosperity, combined with bitter economic and political problems abroad, is drawing vast investment flows to these shores from scores of foreign nations. The tidal wave of foreign capital is creating new jobs for Americans and contributing towards a healthier economy. Investment from abroad can be found in almost every U.S. business sector, from oil and chemicals, to banking and automobiles, even to newspapers.

Wall Street brokers are signing up increasing numbers of foreign investors keen to place their cash in U.S. financial markets. Overseas enthusiasm for the dollar has pushed the value of U.S. currency ahead at a dramatic rate this year. It seems as if shrewd, worldly foreign businessmen and financiers have more confidence in this nation's economic outlook than many Americans do.

The Giant Stirs

Foreign observers are encouraged most by moves on the anti-inflation front. For years Americans drank from the cup of inflation and became addicted. But the realization has come that an inflation cure, however painful, is urgent.

Presidents Ford and Carter called for cuts in public spending to bring balance to the budget books, but the will of Congress and of those who elect the Congress was not sufficient to slow the flow of red ink onto the national accounts. Nevertheless, these former leaders, together with many others, did help to create greater awareness of the need for tough measures and by November, 1980, the American people had clearly accepted that the time for action had arrived.

At the last election the voters called for what amounts to a fiscal revolution. Budget restraint has become the chief priority in the nation's capital. I personally believe delays in tax cuts would have served to accelerate the pace toward price stability. Also I fear that, with social program funding cuts, the weakest in society may suffer the most in the short term. But without doubt, budget restraint, pushed this year through a willing Congress by a determined White House, has moved the nation's finances onto a more prudent path. This assuredly is one reason for heightened confidence.

The Fed Is Helping

The outrage over inflation and evident public willingness to accept pain in order to revive real prosperity over time has emboldened the custodian of the country's monetary policies, the Federal Reserve Board. The speed at which new money is created in America today is slowing and moving into greater balance with the real rate of growth in the nation's output of goods and services. Too much money creation at a time of sluggish economic growth inevitably stokes the fires of inflation. The Federal Reserve's competence and its present determination to more firmly push money policy on to a path consistent with price stability are further grounds for confidence.

U.S., says correspondent Frank Vogl, of up the momentum.

The Dawn of Energy Sanity

For years, Americans were the most profligate energy users in the world, blowing up air conditioning storms in summer, driving vast gas guzzlers all year round and finding other ways to waste energy with carefree abandon. That waste has been a drain on the world's economic strength and an encouragement to the tiny band of oil exporting nations to fuel our inflation by demanding huge price rises for their black gold. There is evidence that energy sanity has finally dawned in the United States.

For example, the decisions by President Carter to move toward decontrol of domestic petroleum prices, in order to strengthen conservation and boost domestic oil development, together with President Reagan's early decision to end controls, are of major importance. Americans are now importing less oil than they did one, two and three years ago and the mounting evidence of new energy attitudes serves to encourage all observers of this country's economic prospects.

And Then There's Yankee Ingenuity

Around the world, people admire the American record of technological innovation and business management expertise. They envy the free enterprise attitudes of this country's trade unions, which contrast so sharply with the anti-capitalist views of many unions, for example, in my own country of England. But for years the full industrial potential of the United States has been hindered by an abundance of Washington-mandated red tape. President Carter initiated deregulation in the airline, trucking, banking and telecommunications industries and the Reagan Administration has moved with speed to accelerate the deregulation drive. The results are bound to aid the revival of this economy.

Momentum Must Be Sustained

If the current momentum to bring about a healthier American economy is sustained, and I believe it will be, albeit with some irritating setbacks now and again, then within two or three years, prosperity, that delicious word, will be back in common usage. There are no simple short-cuts, with trade protectionism, for example, adding to U.S. inflation and to global economic grief. The momentum toward recovery must be sustained, otherwise the U.S. will go down toward the far more severe sort of economic crisis that Britain faces. That sort of crisis risks political

(continued)

Frank Vogl is the United States Economics Correspondent for The Times of London, *monthly columnist for "Financier," and author of the book, "German Business After the Economic Miracle." He has written extensively about economic affairs for journals on both sides of the Atlantic. Born in London, Vogl worked as a business and financial reporter for several years in his home city, in Brussels, and in Frankfurt before taking up his present post in 1974.*

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OVER

instability and demands tougher economic cures.

It must be sustained because international political problems are too numerous and too dangerous for free nations merely to amble along. The United States, that most natural of leaders, has been too crippled by inflation to provide the world a sense of direction. America's industrial allies and the emerging new nations can hope to overcome their severe difficulties only if the U.S. rapidly enhances its economic power.

Public policies are now, by and large, moving along the desired tracks. But it is high time that individual Americans and U.S. corporations abandon their short-term-only vision, come off the fence, recognize there are grounds for confidence and make long-term investments. With stronger savings and investments, employment could grow and productivity gains could be won.

It would then become absolutely certain that America could march forward, in international councils, from a formidable home base, to secure a healthier world.

—Frank Vogl

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For additional reading on the above subject, send for a free copy of Frank Vogl's article, "Fraser's Example in Australia Suggests Reagan Plans Can Work," reprinted from the June issue of *Financier*. We will also include other Commentaries published in this Forum and several of SmithKline's *Issues for Action* pamphlets.

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Boxing The Ear

Bugs and a libel suit

The item was tucked away in a breathless potpourri of gossip on page D1 of the Washington *Post*. Diana McClellan, whose trendy column "The Ear" was only into its second week after shifting from the defunct Washington *Star*, quoted unidentified "close pals" of Rosalynn Carter as saying that Blair House, where Ronald and Nancy Reagan had stayed in pre-Inauguration visits to Washington, "was bugged" at that time. "At least one tattler in the Carter tribe," wrote McClellan, "has described listening in to the tape itself." The item concluded: "Stay tuned, uh, whoever's listening."

Two distinctly unamused "listeners" were Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter. The former President's press secretary, Jody Powell, denounced the item as "unfounded and false" and demanded a retraction. So did the Carters' Washington lawyer, Terrence Adamson, who wrote to the *Post* that the article falsely leveled "a criminal charge" at the former President, and was "libelous." Even if the *Post* were to apologize, Adamson said, the Carters intended to sue the *Post* for libel and claim at least $1 million in damages.

Post Executive Editor Ben Bradlee said that his paper did not immediately plan to retract. He did not argue that the *Post* knew for sure that Blair House had been bugged, but insisted that certain people (unnamed) had claimed that it was. Said Bradlee: "There were 20 people who said it before we ran it. I know what we said was true." McClellan contended that the Carters "know perfectly well it is true."

At the very least, the item raised questions about the *Post's* journalistic proprieties. Powell had a valid question: If the *Post* really believed that the Carters had been bugging visitors to Blair House, including heads of state and the next U.S. President, why did the story not rate full investigative reporting and Page One headlines? "It would rival Watergate: the President . . . violating the laws and the Constitution," claimed Powell. And if *Post* editors did not believe the bugging had taken place, Adamson noted, printing the rumor could constitute the "reckless disregard" for truth that a public figure must prove to win a libel case. ■

Americana

Illustrations for TIME by Michael Witte

Leapin' Lizards

The majority of Floridians are not native born. Among recent transplants, however, are creatures who have come not for a balmy retirement, but for work, mostly at night. They are geckos—purple polka-dotted lizards, ranging from three inches to a foot long—and their job is eating cockroaches. Convinced that poisons and fatally sticky boxes do not provide enough firepower in the roach war, many Floridians are giving store-bought geckos (price: $10 to $20 apiece) the run of their homes. Bill Huff, who owns House of Pets in Tallahassee, says he sold 36 geckos in one week. He ran an ad in the Florida State University newspaper: GOT ROACHES? GET GECKO. St. Petersburg's Fins and Friends pet store had 75 requests for the lizards in four days. Says Gecko Owner Sybil Jaggears of Tallahassee: "It's a matter of whether you want one gecko or a hundred roaches. Everybody thinks I'm a little nuts."

The geckos are indigenous to Asia, and introducing foreign species to Florida is a crime. State wildlife authorities fear that if geckos are set free by disenchanted owners, the ravenous reptiles will upset the ecological balance. Disenchantment with geckos might come easily. They spend the night making chirping, quacking or barking noises, and besides, says Miami Pet Store Owner Mike Yodice: "They bite like crazy. You open a drawer and they'll clamp onto your hand."

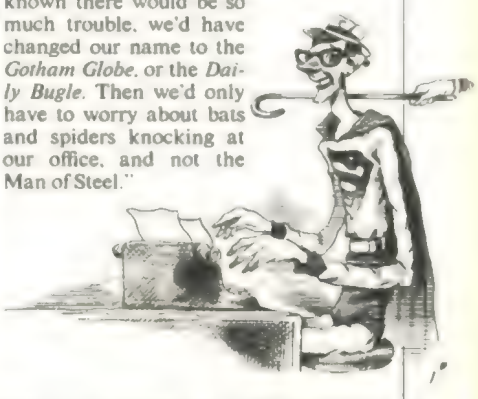
Gift Horses

Lady Luck is always a welcome guest, but in Maine she has been a little promiscuous. Sampson Supermarkets, a 31-store chain, last summer contracted for a promotion scheme: "Let's Go to the Races." Each Sampson shopper is given a playing card printed with the number of a race horse on whom the customer has automatically "bet." Every week, films of past thoroughbred races are shown on television, and Sampson customers holding numbers of a victorious horse win $1,000. The game is really a lottery: its sponsors know that of the 250,000 cards doled out weekly only two bear the number of the first-place horse. Except for one week last month, when an extra 500 $1,000 chits were somehow distributed. Says Company President Roger Hoyt: "About ten minutes after the game was aired, we knew we had a problem." But Sampson Supermarkets are not welching: the stores will pay off all of the unintended prizewinners, and so far 330 people have collected. Says an exultant Mrs. Arthur Poulin of Lewiston: "We called them and then they called us into the store and took our pictures and gave us the check. They're all right! Maine people are very honest." They also don't look gift horses in the mouth.

No Joke, Superman!

Clark Kent may be a champion of the underdog, but this is one David *vs.* Goliath story that will never appear in the *Daily Planet*. Back in 1979, student editors at Chicago's Richard J. Daley College decided to change their campus newspaper's name from the ominous sounding *The Obstacle* to the more lighthearted *Daley Planet*, after Superman's favorite newspaper. Funny? Certainly not to DC Comics, a division of Warner Communications Inc., which owns the Superman trademark.

After an unsuccessful attempt to pay the students $1,000 to drop *Daley Planet* from the masthead, Warner Communications sued, claiming trademark infringement, injury to business reputation and engagement in deceptive practices. "Great Caesar's ghost," the *Daley Planet* declaimed in consternation. "If we'd known there would be so much trouble, we'd have changed our name to the *Gotham Globe*, or the *Daily Bugle*. Then we'd only have to worry about bats and spiders knocking at our office, and not the Man of Steel."



Waving banners and chanting slogans, hundreds of thousands of protesters approach Bonn by way of John F. Kennedy Bridge

POLYPRESS

World

WEST GERMANY

Rallying for Peace

Nuclear arms have become a powerful political issue

"We'll stop the Americans' neutron bomb, we'll remove the Soviets' SS-20's!" predicted an exultant pacifist as 300,000 West Germans poured into Bonn for the biggest demonstration ever held in the Federal Republic. They marched through the capital carrying carnations, crosses and banners: REAGAN'S PEACE IS OUR DEATH; TO BE OR NATO BE. Among the demonstrators was a predictable share of Communists. But the majority were markedly middle-class, like so many members of the powerful anti-nuke crusade that is causing increasing political unease throughout Western Europe. Doctors, teachers, social workers and students, they represented 830 organizations dedicated to slowing down the nuclear arms race.

At issue is the 1979 NATO decision to deploy 572 U.S.-built Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe as a counter to some 320 Soviet SS-20 missiles currently targeted on European cities. In addition, the peace movement reacted angrily to Ronald Reagan's announcement last month that the U.S. would produce neutron weapons that may ultimately be deployed in Europe.

The peace rally in Bonn was strong evidence of how potent a political issue nuclear arms have become, especially in West Germany, where Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's government has agreed to install 204 U.S. missiles—nearly twice as many as any other NATO member. Angered by the rising public protest, Schmidt called the demonstration "a declaration of war" against his government and his policies. Schmidt was particularly incensed by the action of 58 members of parliament belonging to his own Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.) who signed a declaration of support for the rally. Galling too was the fact that one of the principal speakers at the rally, Erhard Eppler, is a member of the S.P.D.'s national executive committee and a former member of the Cabinet. Said Schmidt: "The demonstrators are blind to the huge Soviet [arms] buildup. They make no substantial contribution to securing peace on the basis of military balance. Instead, they weaken the West's position and thus indirectly strengthen the East's position."

In an interview with TIME, Eppler dismissed Schmidt's concern, one essentially shared by the leaders of most Western countries, as alarmist. He gave the peace movement credit, somewhat dubiously, for pressuring the U.S. into setting a date for the resumption of arms talks with the Soviet Union. "The Chancellor sees threats where there are none," Eppler said. Like most West German peace crusaders, Eppler is opposed to unilateral disarmament, favoring a step-by-step process of limiting nuclear arms on both sides. Said Eppler: "We have reached a point where the confrontation of the superpowers in Europe could threaten the survival of the whole continent, especially the survival of West Germany." An even more pessimistic view was expressed by Volkmar Deile, a leader of the Action for Reconciliation, an organization linked to many Protestant church antinuclear groups. Said Deile: "There is an increasing feeling in Germany that talking to the superpowers about disarmament is like trying to persuade drug dealers to stop deliveries of dope. The feeling is that they are hooked on armaments."

The diminishing of détente has proved most traumatic for West Germany, which pioneered *Ostpolitik* a decade ago. Distrust of the Reagan Administration's hard-line anti-Sovietism and resentment of West Germany's continued reliance on U.S. power for national defense have reinforced the peace movement. "We grew up surrounded by reminders of our terrible past," said Munich University Student Erich Enders. "Yet we are now bristling with nuclear weapons over which we have no control. After World War II, Europe wanted a pacifist Germany; now they've got it. The Americans shouldn't be allowed to change that."

Schmidt has steadfastly refused to change his government's nuclear-arms policy. He remains committed to NATO's two-part plan to deploy the new U.S. missiles while negotiating their reduction with the Soviet Union. But this is scarcely enough for peace activists in West Germany and elsewhere. British organizers hope to attract 100,000 or more people to a giant demonstration in London's Hyde Park on Oct. 26. West German groups have scheduled a "peace week" next month, with rallies throughout the country. Said Eppler: "What you are witnessing is a fundamental change in people's consciousness." —*By Patricia Blake. Reported by D.L. Coutu/Bonn and William Rademaekers/West Berlin*

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An Interview with Mitterrand

"Everything is a struggle. Everything requires courage and effort"

"I loved this country where everyone greets passers-by and opens his door wide. Looking at America, every voyager has the eyes of Christopher Columbus." So wrote *François Mitterrand about his first visit to the U.S., when he was a young politician in 1946. This week America's doors will open wide again for France's new President as he travels to Yorktown, Va., to join President Ronald Reagan in celebrating the bicentennial of the Franco-American military victory that ended the Revolutionary War. In addition, Mitterrand will spend five hours in meetings with Reagan before continuing on to Cancún, Mexico, for a 22-nation summit meeting to discuss economic cooperation between rich and poor countries. Last week, after engineering a devaluation of the franc* (see following story), *Mitterrand was interviewed by* TIME *Correspondents Jordan Bonfante and Sandra Burton in the gilded* salon doré *of the Elysée Palace. Throughout, the President exuded the confidence of someone who had occupied the office not for five months but for years. Asked what had surprised him most on coming to power, Mitterrand replied: "Nothing at all. It was just as I had foreseen it." Excerpts from the interview:*

Q. What kind of relations do the French and U.S. governments have across their socialist-conservative ideological gap?

A. Good, naturally with variations according to what issue we are dealing with. On the East-West balance, our approaches, without being identical, are sufficiently close that we do not have serious problems. Very real, on the other hand, is the divergence with regard to people under the thumb of Latin American oligarchies. But by and large, Franco-American policy is based on dialogue. We discuss and seek agreement. And we are, both of us, faithful to the Alliance that unites us in defense of peace and that expresses a common civilization.

Q. What is the extent of your differences on North-South issues?

A. France is more committed than the U.S. to reforming the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [so they can better help developing countries] and to supporting the price of commodities such as cocoa and coffee. France also advocates public aid, whereas the U.S. believes more in the play of free enterprise —in other words, private aid, the intervention of multinational firms. But this different approach does not prevent us

from maintaining a good dialogue. The Americans have taken account of some of our suggestions. And I listen to theirs with the greatest attention, with the respect that a great country deserves. The industrialized countries need the economic recovery of the Third World, need these billions of human beings, potential buyers of our products. This is not only a generous attitude, it is a self-serving one.

Q. What led you to recognize the guerrilla movement in El Salvador as a legitimate political force?

A. Reality. The reality is that El Salvador lives under an unbearable, dictatorial oligarchy and that massacres occur there and that all this must be denounced. We believe that the prolongation of these outdated systems in Latin America is a danger for the whole world. Do we speak of Communism? That is how it is introduced! Communism is born out of misery, and if the West does not show more understanding, those people will take up arms and turn to others, that is the Soviet Union. We wind up driving into the adversary camp people who are not natural adversaries of the West but who become so through the logic of the situation we impose upon them. I know the president of the Salvadoran revolutionary movement, Guillermo Ungo, very well. He is a very quiet social democrat. I had lunch with him a week ago here. He is in no way a Communist.

Q. Is this week's devaluation of the franc symptomatic of a greater disorder within the international monetary system?

A. It is one of the consequences, but not a cause of the monetary disorder. There is a currency war, an economic war, and this is one of the most disquieting points for the future of Western relations. Today, it is every man for himself. The U.S., so it says, needs a very high interest rate. That's its business. But it cannot ignore the fact that this measure exacerbates already dangerous movements of capital. Likewise for the fluctuations in the dollar exchange rate. This disorganizes the Western economic system. Since each nation is undergoing a crisis, they all tend toward egotism. Each country first wants to rescue itself, whereas they will only be rescued together.

Q. To what extent are you concerned by the trend toward neutralism in Europe? Is it a limited problem or a real danger?

A. Neutralism is a word that must not be used lightly. As far as I am concerned, I try to understand. And I understand the West German reaction, because West Germany is a country loaded with nuclear explosives that are not under its control. This contradiction is difficult to bear. It gives rise to a series of questions about which a Frenchman must speak with caution. Nations that have a nuclear capability find it easier to avoid such crises than nations that have none and that feel themselves prey to the decisions of others. I believe these tensions would ease if the Americans, who have expressed their willingness to do so, were to begin arms negotiations with the Soviet Union without further delay. I believe they must do it.

Q. You've always claimed to be a staunch supporter of the Atlantic Alliance. On the other hand, in French domestic policy, you have been for many years the promoter of the union of the left, the alliance with Communists. How can you reconcile those two positions of principle?

A. These are not positions of principle. These are facts. In global terms, we are in the Atlantic Alliance. The Communists are not asking us to withdraw from it. In France, my aim is to carry forward a popular movement. And I want the social classes of which this popular movement is comprised to have a say in the business of the nation and the government. To do that, they must be united. Other-

wise they will always be dominated [by the bourgeois classes]. If you understand that, you understand my strategy for a union of the left. I must add that the Socialists in France have an absolute majority and that the government is applying the program of the Socialist candidate that I was. It cannot be said that our strategy was not a good one!

Q. There was a commotion in the U.S. about the appointment of Communist ministers ...

A. So I've heard

Q. Americans have been quite struck by your program of nationalizations.

A. It is our business, not theirs. American interests, like those of all foreigners, will be entirely respected

Q. Some people, even fellow leftists, say you are acting rather Gaullist in style, as well as substance. Do you find such observations justified?

A. I stand up, people say, "De Gaulle stood up." I look out the window, "That's where De Gaulle looked." I speak of France, "De Gaulle spoke of France." This sort of thing is not sufficient to justify the comparison, which in any case is only a facile device for hackneyed pens. De Gaulle and I are different on essential points

Q. Will a Mitterrand style evolve?

A. I am the way I am, and I have no need to evolve in order to affirm my identity

Q. You once quoted Historian Raymond Aron saying that one of defeated President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's problems was that he did not understand that "history is tragic." Is it healthy for a head of state to accept that premise?

A. I believe this dimension is necessary. I was born during one world war, and when I was 20, I fought in a second world war. I was young at a time when Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Salazar, Stalin and a few others were on European soil. All that passes under our eyes proves that we do not live in a peaceful and harmonious world. Everything is a struggle, everything requires courage, effort. There is no response to history without effort, and effort is required because everything is difficult: passions, interests, rivalries, mankind just emerging from prehistory. Just look around us. Yes, history is tragic

Q. Does that mean you are a pessimist?

A. No, I am not a pessimist at all. Man learns to master himself in order to master history. I believe in the capacity of man, and his failures, his faults do not make me despair.

FRANCE

The Bitter Taste of Reality

To calm skeptics, Mitterrand devalues the franc

No sooner had he moved into the Elysée Palace than he set about reflating the economy to fight France's record 7.7% unemployment. True to his campaign promises, he reversed predecessor Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's cautious policy by introducing a budget calling for 27% higher public spending and a $17 billion deficit. He made good on a longstanding pledge to take over private banks and key industries. He increased welfare benefits to families, the aged and the handicapped. But last week President François Mitterrand was forced to administer a dose of economic medicine

The main problem was that skittish investors were selling their francs for sounder currencies, like the German mark. In a single week, the Bank of France spent $1.5 billion buying up francs to preserve their value. To help ease the strain, eight European countries agreed to a complex realignment of their currencies that had the net effect of devaluing the franc 8.5% against the mark.

Finance Minister Delors

While making French exports cheaper, the move would also make imports more expensive. In an attempt to protect consumers, Finance Minister Jacques Delors ordered a six-month freeze on the prices of most services and a three-month ban on price hikes for such staples as milk, sugar and bread. Manufacturers were urged to hold price increases to 8% next year (*vs.* the current inflation rate of 14%), and importers were ordered not to widen their profit margins. To show that it, too, could cut back, the government announced that it was postponing $2.6 billion of budgeted spending. One of Mitterrand's aims was to help persuade unions to curb their wage demands.

The new economic measures brought the hibernating political opposition out in force for the first time since the Socialist victory. "Five years of such policies will set France back 20 years," fumed Raymond Barre, the former conservative Premier and an economics professor. Declared defeated President Giscard d'Estaing, in his maiden public comment on Mitterrand's performance: "Devaluation after just a few months in office rings out like the first sound of an alarm bell."

The Socialists argued with justification that their policies alone did not bring about the move. Since 1979, when parities were fixed within the European Monetary System, France's inflation rate has averaged more than twice West Germany's. This reduced the competitiveness of French products to the point where, even if Giscard had been re-elected, a devaluation would have been necessary. François-Xavier Ortoli, Finance Commissioner for the European Community and a Finance Minister under President Charles de Gaulle, described Mitterrand's decision as "sound management." The price controls received less favorable reviews Said Alain Chevalier, managing director of Moët-Hennessy and spokesman for the Patronat, France's business lobby "Blocking prices and wages has never succeeded in blocking inflation."

The smooth devaluation was possible only with the cooperation of West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who was Mitterrand's guest last week Accompanied by the President's black labrador, Nil, the two leaders looked like a pair of country squires as they ambled along the wooded lanes near Mitterrand's country home in Latche, south of Bordeaux If they walked with a lighter step, it was perhaps because recently each had cause to help the other. Mitterrand was grateful to the Chancellor for supporting the devaluation, which imposes stiffer competition upon West German business. For his part, Schmidt already had Mitterrand to thank for publicly backing his battle against West German pacifists opposed to the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles

Mitterrand's haste in launching reforms reflects not only his own sense of mission but the pull of radicals in his party still feeling the heady fumes of their election victory. Known as the *maximalistes*, the group regularly tries to keep the moderates in Mitterrand's government from making practical compromises. For example, since many are strongly opposed to the development of nuclear energy, they tried to reduce the number of new reactors to be built from Giscard's plan for nine to only four. Mitterrand had to overcome their resistance to carry his own middle-course program, which envisions the construction of six "We cannot give up nuclear energy," he was quoted as saying privately last week. "If we did, the price of electricity would double."

If he is as pragmatic as that about the economy in the future, Mitterrand may be able to avoid the kind of stumble that occurred last week because he had tried to go too far, too fast. ■

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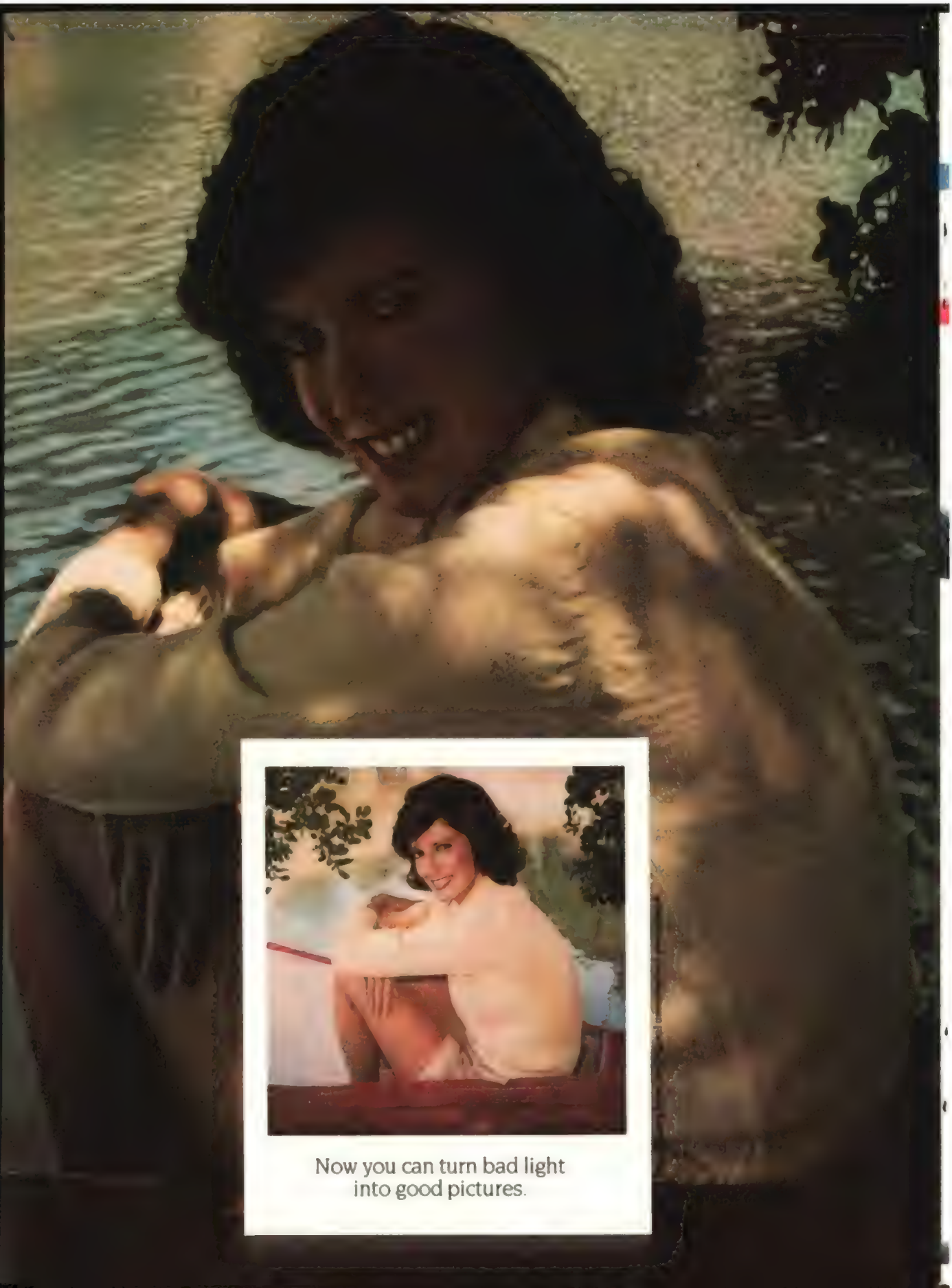

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Revolutionary new use for sonar.

In our Autofocus Model 660, focus is set automatically by our sonar ranging invention. Controlled by sonar, an ingenious rotating disc of four interchanging lenses locks in place to put you in precise focus from 2 feet to infinity.

And the Sonar Autofocus system has also been coupled to the electronic circuitry to balance the Sun Camera's light with the ambient light. You've never been so sure of an instant picture.

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We've also made a new super battery with far more capacity than our previous batteries. Built into our film packs, it's the only battery this camera needs, running everything from motor to "sunshine." And it recharges the "sunshine" in as little as 5 seconds after each shot

How the system can save you money.

Film savings should be substantial, since you no longer worry about wasting shots in bad light. And you never buy flash or extra batteries. The "sunshine" is built into the camera, and you get a new battery in every pack of film.

The Sun Camera is light, motor-driven and easy to use. Just press the button and the picture's developing in your hand. Our Autofocus Model 660 is $95.* And our fixed-focus Model 640 gives you Sun Camera technology for $70.* If you have any questions, call us any weekday, 9a.m. to 5p.m., toll free at 800-343-5000. In Massachusetts call collect 617-494-8266

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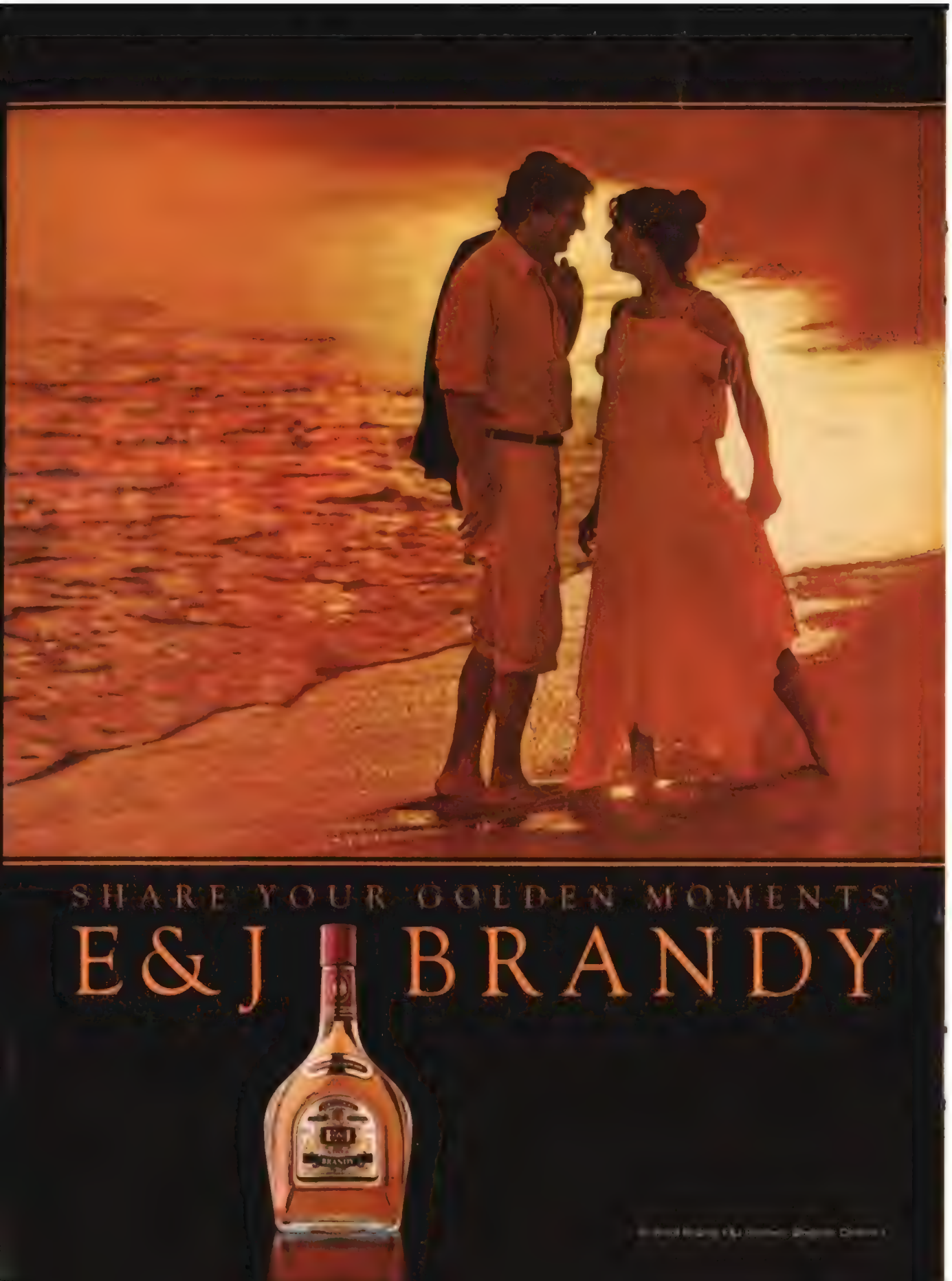
*Suggested retail price. Initial quantities limited.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Furnishing their own pennant, the Reds pat themselves on the back prior to their last regular-season game

Baseball's Misbegotten Season

The year of the asterisk finally reaches the play-off stage

The Cincinnati Reds won more games and lost fewer than any team in the major leagues this season. But all it got them was the homemade pennant pictured above and the feeling that this has been anything but a banner year for baseball. As the play-offs got under way last week, the Reds (record: 66-42) were at home watching the likes of the Kansas City Royals (record: 50-53) play on national television. "I'm disappointed," said Reds President Dick Wagner, "that baseball put marketing and merchandising ahead of tradition." Baltimore Orioles Owner Edward Bennett Williams, whose team sat out the play-offs, while five teams with worse records got into them, was more succinct: "The whole season was a terrible disaster."

To get the turnstiles clicking again after the seven-week players strike, baseball devised a unique "split-season" format. Teams leading their divisions when the strike began were declared "first-season" winners. They would meet the "second-season" or poststrike winners in mini-play-offs for the divisional championships.

What happened under this arrangement offended purists and casual fans alike. With little incentive to play well, three of the prestrike leaders—the New York Yankees, Philadelphia Phillies and Los Angeles Dodgers—performed so indifferently that, in any other year, they would have missed the play-offs at season's end. The exception was Oakland, which won the first half and very nearly the second, finishing five games ahead of the Texas Rangers over the full season.

Cincinnati was not the only team robbed outright. The St. Louis Cardinals had the best overall record in the National League East yet missed the play-offs because the Phillies edged them by 1½ games in the first half and Montreal finished one-half game ahead of them in the second. Griped Cards Manager Whitey Herzog: "The whole thing is unjust, a joke."

Most embarrassing, the Royals, twelve games out of first at the time of the strike, managed to get their act together well enough to capture the second-half crown. Perhaps fortunately for the game, Oakland eliminated the unworthy Royals in three straight last week. As it was, the play-off games had an oddly perfunctory character. "I should be excited, but I'm awfully relaxed," said Oakland Infielder Wayne Gross, after hitting a three-run homer in the A's opening victory. "Somehow this mini-series seems devalued."

Two clubs that finished with the second-best records in their divisions won play-off spots, as did three with the third-best records and Kansas City with its appalling fourth-place finish. In the play-offs, the Phillies lost twice to the Expos in Montreal, then evened the series at home on George Vukovich's tenth-inning homerun. The Yankees were on the verge of eliminating the Milwaukee Brewers but fell into a deadlock after losing two straight in New York. Before play began Saturday night, the Houston Astros led the Dodgers in games, 2-1.

The strike and the misbegotten split season did incalculable damage to baseball's special rhythms and arithmetic. "Ninety feet between home plate and first base," offers Columnist Red Smith, "may be the closest man has ever come to perfection." Indeed, over the full 162-game schedule, baseball usually produces a hard truth: the best team wins. There are occasional flukes, such as the 1973 Mets, but never has a team succeeded by playing below .500, as Kansas City did.

As the season progresses, with wins and losses piling up by the dozens, baseball fans use certain statistical guides to assess their team's chances. Best known is what sportscasters refer to, in cathedral tones, as "the all-important loss column." Since rainouts or scheduling quirks produce discrepancies in the number of games each team has played at various points in the season, a knowledgeable fan is aware that the club with the fewest losses is in the best position, even if the standings indicate otherwise. But each team must play precisely the same number of games for this logic to hold, and that did not happen this year.

The Baltimore Orioles lost fewer times than any team in their division but came up empty-handed, in part because other teams played more games. During the second half of play, Oakland had the fewest losses in the American League West but finished second because the Royals played four more games and managed three more wins.

Even more dismaying to fans, individual statistics were completely skewed by the truncated season. There were no 20-game winners (five pitchers had 14), no

HOW THEY REALLY FINISHED

AMERICAN LEAGUE

East	W	L	Pct.	GB
Milwaukee(2)	62	47	.569	-
Baltimore	59	46	.562	1
New York(1)	59	48	.551	2
Detroit	60	49	.550	2
Boston	59	49	.546	2½
Cleveland	52	51	.505	7
Toronto	37	69	.349	23½
West				
Oakland(1)	64	45	.587	-
Texas	57	48	.543	5
Chicago	54	52	.509	8½
Kansas City(2)	50	53	.484	11
California	51	59	.464	13½
Seattle	44	65	.404	20
Minnesota	41	68	.376	23

NATIONAL LEAGUE

East	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	59	43	.578	-
Montreal(2)	60	48	.556	2
Philadelphia(1)	59	48	.551	2½
Pittsburgh	46	56	.451	13
New York	41	62	.398	18½
Chicago	38	65	.369	21½
West				
Cincinnati	66	42	.611	-
Los Angeles(1)	63	47	.573	4
Houston(2)	61	49	.555	6
San Francisco	56	55	.505	11½
Atlanta	50	56	.472	15
San Diego	41	69	.373	26

(1)First-season division winners (2)Second-season division winners

"It's time to bring some reason and sanity to new car prices. For '82, Chrysler Corporation is holding the '81 price line on these popular front-wheel-drive, high-mileage cars."

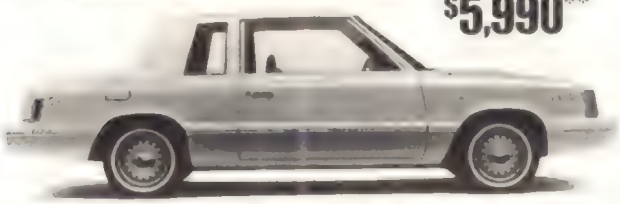
Lee A. Iacocca, Chairman
THE NEW CHRYSLER CORPORATION

Lowest priced, highest-mileage 6-passenger front-wheel-drive cars in America.

'82 Dodge Aries K 2-Dr Coupe
'82 Plymouth Reliant K 2-Dr Coupe

41 EST HWY* 26 EST MPG*

$5,990**

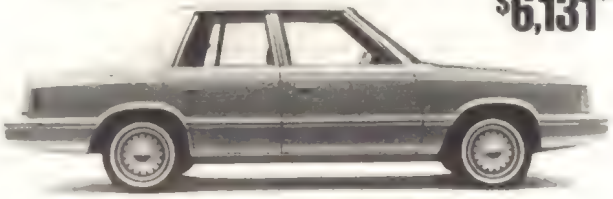


$764 less than Chevrolet Citation Hatchback Coupe
$1,136 less than Ford Granada L 2-dr Sedan

'82 Dodge Aries K 4-Dr Sedan
'82 Plymouth Reliant K 4-Dr Sedan

41 EST HWY* 26 EST MPG*

$6,131**



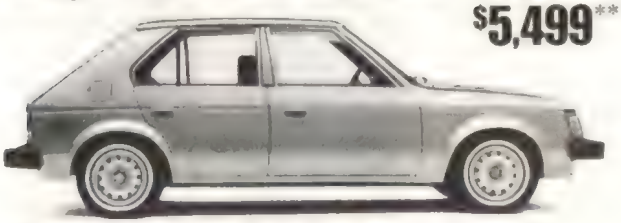
$1,443 less than Oldsmobile Omega 4-dr Sedan
$1,170 less than Ford Granada 4-dr L Sedan

Lowest priced, highest gasoline mileage 5-passenger front-wheel-drive cars built in America.

'82 Dodge Omni Miser 4-Dr Hbk
'82 Plymouth Horizon Miser 4-Dr Hbk

52 EST HWY* 35 EST MPG*

$5,499**



$1,638 less than Chevrolet Cavalier 4-dr Sedan
$764 less than Ford Escort L 4-dr Hatchback

'82 Dodge Omni Custom 4-Dr Hbk
'82 Plymouth Horizon Custom 4-Dr Hbk

47 EST HWY* 30 EST MPG*

$5,927**

$1,276 less than Pontiac J-2000 4-dr Sedan†
$695 less than Escort GL 4-dr Hatchback

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'82 Dodge Ram Miser Pickup

29 EST HWY* 21 EST MPG*

$5,899**

$665 less than Chevrolet C-10 Pickup
$667 less than Ford F-100 Pickup

*Use EPA est. mpg for comparison. Your mileage may vary depending on speed, weather and trip length. Actual highway mileage will probably be lower.
**Base sticker prices excluding taxes and destination charge. Sticker prices higher in CA, MA, MS, NE, NY, PA, WA. Optional equipment extra. Standard equipment levels vary between vehicles compared.
†Based on published General Motors prices as of August 1, 1981.

Dodge
Dodge Trucks

'82 CARS AT '81 PRICES

CHRYSLER
Plymouth

batters with 200 hits (Philadelphia's Pete Rose led with 140), and no sluggers with 100 runs batted in (Philadelphia's Mike Schmidt was tops with 91). Had the owners let the season continue in normal fashion after the strike, they would have had some sparkling pennant races on their hands. Midway through the final week, four teams in the American League East would have been separated by a mere game. Except in the American League West, where Oakland would have clinched early, all the races would have been competitive almost to the end.

Commissioner Bowie Kuhn's office claims attendance was down only 6%, compared with the final two months of the 1980 season. Detroit's attendance was up, thanks to a 16-game home stand after the strike and the improbably brilliant play of its young team. But Milwaukee and Baltimore, in the thick of a pennant race, experienced declines. And teams such as the San Diego Padres and Minnesota Twins, who were supposed to benefit at the gate by getting a fresh start in the second half, showed little improvement. They were lousy before the strike and stayed lousy after it.

Whitey Herzog

Some of the fans returned during the play-offs, but by no means all. On Saturday there were 25,000 empty seats at Philadelphia's Veterans Stadium. At Milwaukee County Stadium, with a seating capacity of 54,000, only 35,064 and 26,395 showed up to watch the Brewers take on the Yankees. "The feeling is flat around here," said Taxi Driver Ken Potter. "We should be happy to be in the play-offs, but nothing means much in this Mickey Mouse season."

Nevertheless, Kuhn and many of the owners are wearing wide grins. Extra play-off games mean extra television revenues. So what if the teams are playing night games in late October? Here's what: the temperature dropped into the 40s in both Milwaukee and Montreal last week. "I make no pretense of perfection," Kuhn told TIME Correspondent Lee Griggs. "But given the options, I think this system worked as well as any."

In their ineffable wisdom, the club owners are considering a similar format for next year. No split season, mind you, but a committee is studying the possibility of dividing each league into three divisions, with a wild-card club tossed in for play-off purposes. "I'm against gimmicks," said Yankee Boss George Steinbrenner. "But the idea of an extra tier of play-offs is a good one to keep interest up and more clubs involved in the pennant race longer. I'm for it, and I think the fans will come around to accepting it too." Maybe. And if they do, perhaps the next step, to add still further excitement, could be to move the pitching mound from its hallowed distance of 60 ft. 6 in. to, say, 66 ft., so the hitters get a break. And then . ■

Education

Light-Fingered Bibliophiles

Library thefts soar, and security systems multiply

The plot sounds like an ultra-British detective story. A collection of rare books initially valued at about $2 million, including a 1638 edition of Galileo's *Discorsi*, disappear from London's University College Library. A "Dr. French" approaches Quaritch's, a rare book dealer in London, with about 20 books that he wants to trade for a medieval manuscript. Quaritch's notices tracings of University College Library stamps and alerts the library. About the same time, librarians checking on the volumes discover that padlocks on the appropriate cabinets have been changed. All told, about 267 books are missing. Scotland Yard and Interpol are called in.

Scene 2 takes place two weeks later in New York City. A man posing as a Princeton University professor offers the *Discorsi* and three other books to a New York bookseller for $11,000. Suspicious that such a rare book should just appear like that, the bookseller contacts authorities. Then, donning a bulletproof vest, he goes to lunch with the mysterious professor at the Princeton Club, ostensibly to consummate the deal. At the conclusion of the sale, undercover agents arrest Greek-born John Papanastassiou, 34, a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University. At his Riverside Drive apartment, police cart off 95 more rare books and manuscripts, while Papanastassiou, in jail, insists that "the crux of the matter lies elsewhere." Most of the 267 missing books are still at large.

The Papanastassiou case is a dramatic example of a war being waged on libraries at a time when funds are short for all staffing, especially security. Stealing rare volumes is not new, but as prices have risen for all sorts of collector's items, the cash incentive has increased. Rare maps have disappeared from Yale University's Sterling Memorial Library. Two years ago, California State University at Long Beach found that 27 volumes of early editions of Captain James Cook's *Voyages of Discovery*, valued at $30,000, had vanished. At the University of California at Riverside, an instructor was arrested two years ago for making off with 10,500 books, valued at $440,000, over a period of years. Another common prey: 19th century periodicals and plates that can be cut from old books.

Libraries everywhere have had to divert money for maintaining and improving collections into increased security. The Chicago Public Library, where from 1979 to 1981 thieves took a $2 million bite out of a $120 million collection, is installing a $1.7 million computerized circulation-control system, which will ensure that anyone with an overdue book will not be permitted to borrow further. An electronic device at the University of Pennsylvania has reduced losses by 39% and paid for itself in 38 months. In DeKalb County, Ga., a protection system has cut losses at one high school library from 346 volumes to 22 in two years.

Most electronic security systems include the use of "Tattle Tape," a sensitive strip concealed in bindings that sets off an alarm if it is smuggled past a checkpoint.

In most libraries, rare books may now be used only when a curator is present, often only under video surveillance. At the Library of Congress, 158 uniformed police have been protecting the stacks and making personal property checks as patrons leave. No known thefts occurred last year. Furthermore, a New York computer service that registers missing books and manuscripts should make it harder for thieves to sell stolen books.

Tight security raises a key question: Does too much protection defeat the purposes of a public library—easy access and scholarly research? Princeton University last week declared that because of thefts, after 33 years of unlimited access, its library may be closed next year to everyone except students and faculty. Most librarians, however, try to combine limited security measures with a public awareness campaign. In Atlanta, theft from the city's 350,000-volume main library dwindled noticeably after the city began publicizing its new detection system. ■

"It's life as usual in the big wildlife reserve nearby," says Orval Fouse, Supervisor, Utilities & Environmental Engineering at Gulf's Port Arthur, Texas, refinery. "The snow geese still spend a few months here each year during migration. The marshes around the refinery are still full of raccoons, otters, minks, muskrats, even some deer and bobcats.

"To me, that's very good news, because it means they're totally unaffected by the fact that, for the past 20 years, we've been refining what's called 'sour crude.'

"We call it sour because it contains a lot of pollutants. We have to take some sour crude when we buy oil overseas. Of course, we can't release those pollutants into the air. So Gulf spent millions of dollars modernizing this refinery to handle this type of crude. For 20 years now, we've been refining over 100,000 barrels of sour crude a day, and as you can see by the wildlife around here, the air quality is as good as ever."

We have prepared a brochure, "In Search of Balance," on the ways and means of balancing energy and nature. You may have a copy, free, by writing to Mr. William E. Mottett, Vice President, Public Affairs, Gulf Oil Corporation, Department SG, Box 1166, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15230.

Gulf

Gulf people: energy for tomorrow.

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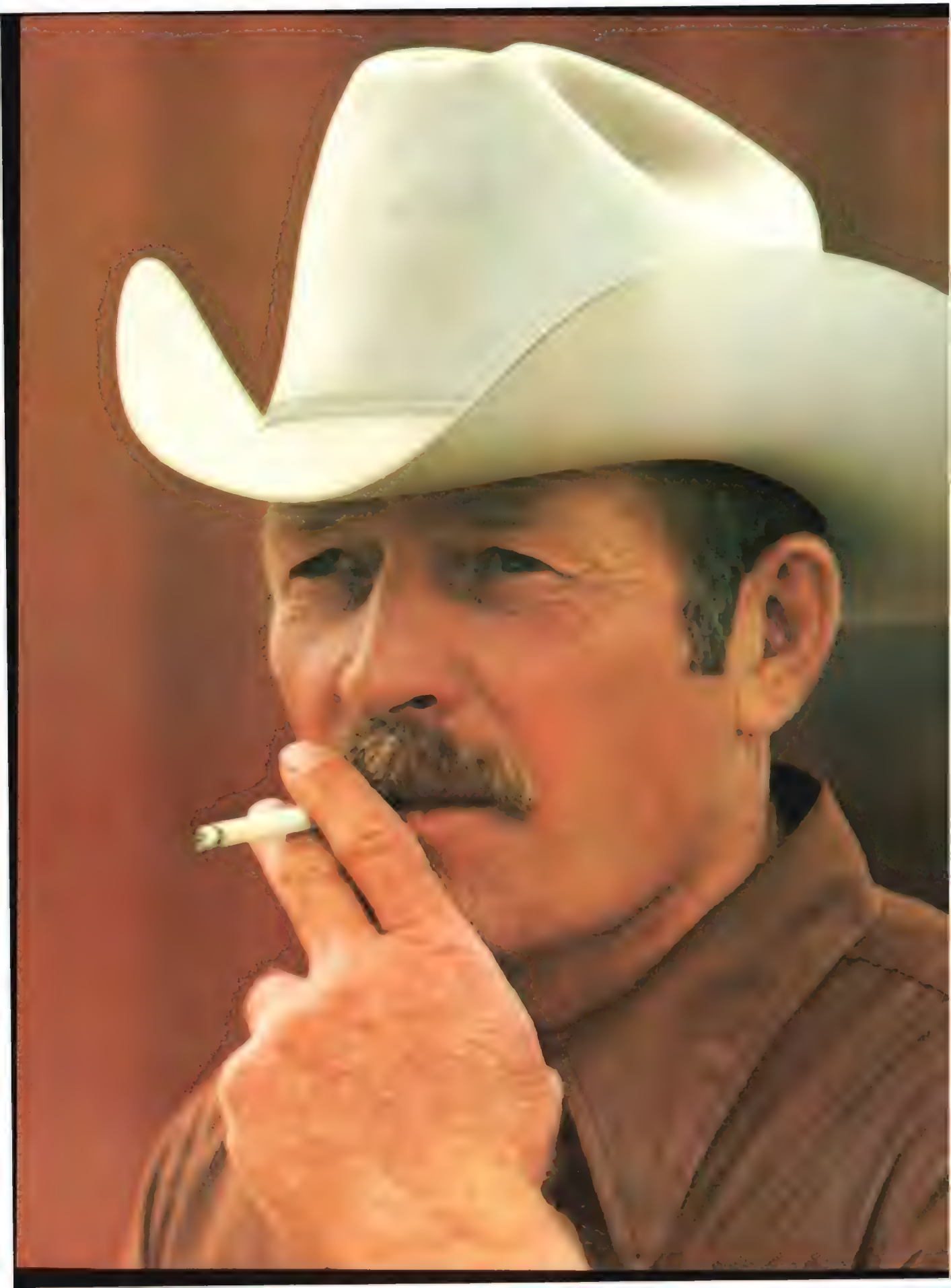
"Can oil and wildlife mix? They do at Gulf's Port Arthur refinery."

Snow Goose (C. Caerulescens), photographed near Gulf's Port Arthur refinery by Dr. John Tveten.



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15 mg "tar," 1.1 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar.81

Produced by conventional crossbreeding, different varieties of wheat undergo field trials at an experimental nursery in Minnesota

Tampering with Beans and Genes

A harvest of cash and corn beckons microbiology and business

"We've got to learn to produce as much food in the next 40 years as we have in the past 11,000." So says Corn Geneticist Ronald Phillips of the University of Minnesota. Can it be done, especially since the so-called Green Revolution has just about run out of steam? The answer may lie in the fact that a second Green Revolution, powered by the wonders of genetic engineering, has been gathering impetus for some time and now seems within reach.

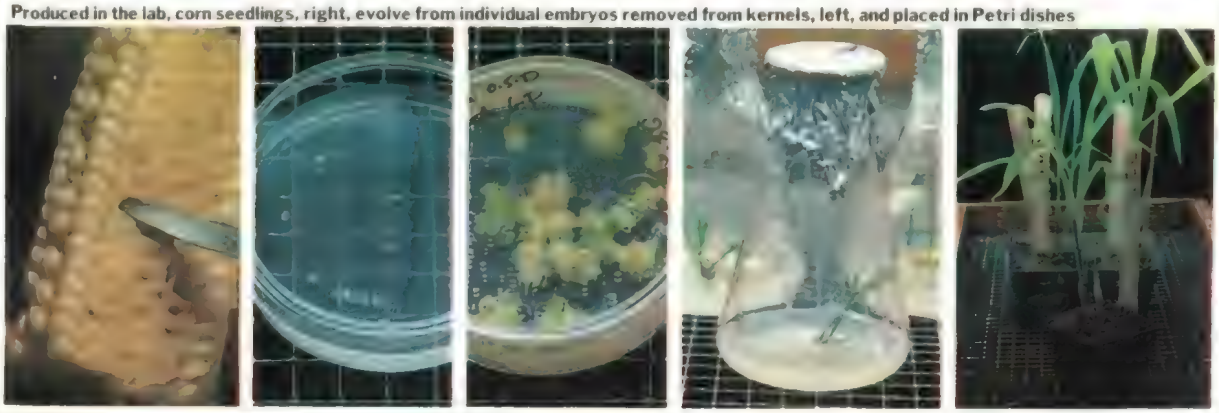
The seeds of the first revolution—high-yield, fertilizer-hungry supergrains—were sown all over the world in the 1960s. Bread-bare countries like Mexico and Iran were soon exporting wheat, the Philippines became self-sufficient in rice, even Pakistan had a harvest surplus. But soaring oil prices pushed the cost of essential petrochemical fertilizers out of reach of all but the wealthiest countries. Today nearly every country "revolutionized" by the Green Revolution is importing food from the world's half-dozen grain exporters, most notably the U.S.

Yet even the U.S. faces severe problems. Exotic new bugs proliferate. From Texas to Nebraska, water is in short supply and growing shorter. With 400 million acres of farm land, the nation is losing 3 million acres a year to erosion and urban development. Meanwhile, world population keeps rising, and is likely to double to 8 billion by the year 2020.

Though traditional plant breeding techniques have done wonders in the past, they are simply not working fast enough. Advanced genetic engineering and tissue-culture techniques may be the only hope. Molecular biologists and giant corporations are at last turning their attention, long concentrated on medicine and drugs, to plants. By manipulating the genetic makeup of plant cells and regenerating those cells in test tubes and Petri dishes, scientists will soon be creating plants with characteristics that might have taken a decade to develop by traditional crossbreeding techniques. The possibilities for farmers, scientists and some financiers are breathtaking: crops that manufacture their own fertilizers; plants that exude toxins to drive off pests; grains that grow in salty soils and others that can live for weeks without water.

According to James Murray of Chicago's Policy Research Corp., "there'll be a $50 billion to $100 billion annual market for agribusiness applications of genetic engineering by 1996—ten times the potential of medical-pharmaceutical applications." Within the past ten years, giant companies like Atlantic Richfield,

Produced in the lab, corn seedlings, right, evolve from individual embryos removed from kernels, left, and placed in Petri dishes



Photographs by Jerry Stebbins

Pfizer, Shell, Upjohn, Ciba-Geigy and Occidental Petroleum have bought seed companies, the obvious distributors of the products of agrigenetics.

Commercial labs, more than 50 so far, have sprung up across the country, creating a demand that allows top-flight researchers and agricultural scientists "to write their own ticket." In California venture capitalists have provided "seed" money for Calgene in Davis and Phytogene in Pasadena. In St. Louis Monsanto has just added a gleaming molecular biology center to its agricultural research facilities. Pioneer Hi-Bred International, the nation's top breeder of seed corn, has broken ground for its own high-tech molecular biology lab in Des Moines.

Inside these shiny new facilities, work is under way on the plants of the future. Last May a major breakthrough was achieved by Timothy Hall, advanced research director of the brand-new Agrigenetics Corp., and U.S. Department of Agriculture Biochemist John Kemp. The two succeeded in transferring genetic material from a French green bean plant into the cells of sunflower seedlings. It was the first time a gene from one plant had been successfully inserted into the chromosome of another, totally unrelated, species and made to express itself. Kemp and Hall christened their glowing achievement the "sunbean."

The potential utility of other recent experiments is even more striking. The high cost of nitrogen fertilizers, for example, is an overwhelming problem for farmers all over the world; the U.S. alone spends $2.5 billion a year on such chemicals. So researchers are focusing their efforts on creating plants that can "fix" their own nitrogen, that is, take nitrogen from the air and convert it into ammonia, which plants can use. Soybeans and other legumes already possess this capability, thanks to their symbiotic relationship with the nitrogen-fixing (NIF) *Rhizobium* bacteria that live in nodules on their roots. Much research is therefore aimed at enhancing the NIF capabilities of leguminous plants, or transferring the genes associated with this function to plants that do not have it.

BOB BASHO

Bacteriologist Winston Brill among nitrogen-fixing legumes

By developing mutant strains of *Rhizobium* with superior NIF ability and inoculating soybeans with them, Wisconsin Bacteriologist Winston Brill has produced plants 50% larger than the average soybean. In field tests, though, these supermutants have so far failed to flourish. Brill, who is now head of the Madison lab of gene-splicing pioneer Cetus, has also crossed domestic corn with several rare tropical strains that produced root material capable of supporting nitrogen-fixing bacteria.

Because nitrogen fixation is a complex process governed by at least 17 genes, many agrogeneticists believe their first practical breakthroughs will come in other areas. Indeed, most of the early achievements will involve a mix of more traditional plant husbandry and sophisticated tissue-culture techniques. Among the most promising so far:

Potato Test. At the USDA research center in Beltsville, Md., gene-splicing magic has created an easy test for the potato spindle tuber viroid, a minuscule squiggle of nucleic acid that annihilates potato crops in tropical climates. The test, which employs radioactively tagged clones, will allow breeders to identify and destroy infected seed potatoes.

Sea Tomato. At the University of California at Davis, researchers recently cloned microbes with a gene for salinity tolerance. Meanwhile another Davis team has produced a tomato that can be grown in sea water. It is cherry-size and tastes fine, say its inventors.

Dry Corn. At Illinois-based DeKalb AgResearch, old-fashioned crossbreeding has produced a remarkably hard new corn hybrid. Tested in the desert heat of Yuma, Colo., the Mexican-derived maize can survive for three weeks without water.

Protein Rice. USDA researchers in Beltsville have used complex biochemistry on tissue cultures to create rice plants with 6% to 10% more protein than the usual variety, potentially a nutritional bonanza for the roughly 50% of the world's population that bases its diet on rice.

"Totatoes" or "Pomatoes." In Manhattan, Kans., Advanced Genetics Science Ltd. is concentrating on creating new plant species by cell fusion and regeneration. One brand-new result: a cross between the potato and the tomato. The aim was to breed a potato that would have a tomato's resistance to so-called late blight. So far the first plant to result is only six inches high, with a stalk like a potato but lobed leaves like a tomato. Researchers think it will probably grow tubers, but there is no sign of them yet.

Despite these advances, understanding of plant physiology still lags far behind research into animals and bacteria, partly because the genetics of higher plants is in some ways more complicated even than that of humans. Some plants have more than twice as much DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid, known as the master molecule of heredity) as humans. Others have multiple pairs of chromosomes. This makes identifying plant genes, let alone tinkering with them, especially difficult.

Moving DNA around from one plant to another is a big problem. The viruses and plasmids used as gene "taxis" or vectors in bacterial research will not work in plants. To make the sunbean, bean genes were carried to the sunflower DNA by a genetically altered gall-producing microbe. But in the process the sunflowers themselves were covered with small, brown tumors and their cells became too ill to grow into full-size plants. No wonder geneticists all over the country are searching for better vectors.

Even when all the technical hitches are ironed out, geneticists still have to depend on nature to supply the raw material for their designs. For his work with nitrogen fixation, Bacteriologist Brill sent all over the world for *Rhizobium* samples. Many plant scientists are deeply concerned about the threat to this genetic raw material—or germ plasm—posed by the slash-and-burn clearing of the world's tropical rain forests. In these remote regions, life forms compete so fiercely that unusual survival mechanisms and defenses often evolve.

High atop a Mexican mountain called Cerro de San Miguel, for instance, scientists have found a highly useful, living relic of Aztec agriculture. Called *Teosinte* (Aztec for grain of the gods), it is, according to University of Wisconsin Botanist Hugh Iltis, "an ancestor of the ancestor of corn." In two years of research, this stalwart survivor has shown great promise as a genetic source of pest resistance. "This is gold," says Iltis, who is passionate about preserving wild species. "All sorts of *Teosinte* are out there to be discovered, all sorts of potatoes and other food plants." To the pioneers of the second Green Revolution, they offer genetic treasure—providing, of course, that they are found in time. *—By Claudia Wallis. Reported by J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago and Dick Thompson/San Francisco*

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The 1982 Honda Prelude will please you for many moons. In many ways.

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Front-wheel drive and 4-wheel independent suspension. With steel-belted radial tires. And rack and pinion steering.

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Using data from one of the largest studies ever made on nutrition conducted by Government health agencies, experts from leading universities identified differences in people's diets (published in "The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition"). **It was found that soup can be a significant part of a balanced, healthful diet.**

And when compared with other foods in a Nutrient Density Rating System* used by nutritionists, many of the most popular soups score very high. **In fact, some soups have more nutrients per calorie than other good foods.** Like green beans, lettuce and corn.

SOMETHING TO SLEEP ON.

Let's say you've come home from work too late to sit down to a big, heavy dinner. (A lot to digest isn't the best thing to go to sleep on.) A bowl of soup before bed might just be what your body needs. And it's so digestible.

And if, for example, that bowl of soup were **Campbell's Vegetable Beef, you'd be giving yourself more vitamin A in one serving than you'd get from nine eggs.** And, calorie for calorie, as much protein as peanut butter. If it were Campbell's Tomato Soup, you'd be getting the vitamin C equivalent of half a grapefruit.

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Everywhere, people are walking when they used to drive. Jogging when they used to walk. And because feeling good is looking good, people are paying more attention to getting more nutrition—with fewer calories. Soup is good for that, too. Many soups have more nutrients per calorie than lots of the foods people think are most healthy. **So you can see that soup can play a very important part in a nutritionally balanced diet.**

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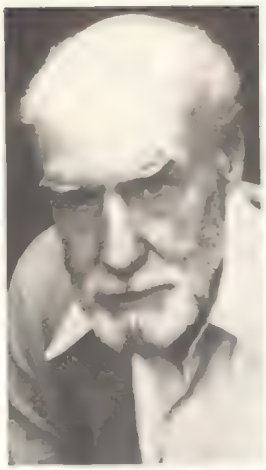
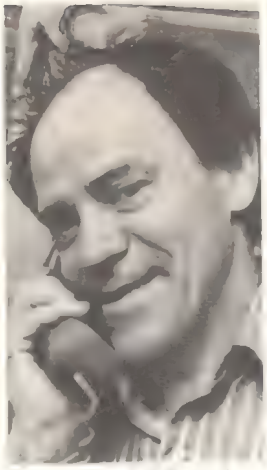
*Source: Hansen, R.G., Wyse, B.W., Sorenson, A.W. The Nutritional Quality Index of Foods. AVI Publishing Co., Inc., Westport, Conn. 1979.
Note: mean value sources for nutrient comparison: USDA Handbooks No. 8 and 456 and Campbell Soup Co.

David Hubel of Harvard



Roger Sperry of Caltech



Torsten Wiesel of Harvard

Medicine

Three Pioneers of the Brain

Mapping the mind wins Nobels for researchers in the U.S.

The human brain is a whole universe, and of all the questions that it can conceive, none is more mysterious or intriguing than precisely how it works. For tracing some of the elusive answers through the intricate corridors of consciousness and perception, three scientists, two American and one Swedish, last week were awarded Nobel Prizes in Medicine. For his pioneering research into the differing functions of the brain's two cerebral hemispheres, Roger Sperry, 68, of the California Institute of Technology, won half of the $181,818 prize. The other half was divided between David Hubel, 55, and Torsten Wiesel, 57, both professors of neurobiology at Harvard Medical School, for discovering how images are transferred from the eye's retina to the brain.

Sperry's research, carried out over three decades, forms the theoretical basis for much of the modern research into how the brain processes information. Previously it was thought that one hemisphere of the brain was dominant, and the other was a minor one that lacked the capacity for higher mental functions. Working first with test animals, Sperry surgically severed the network of hundreds of millions of nerve fibers connecting the two hemispheres. He discovered that the animals could still perform learned tasks when stimulated solely on one hemisphere, but that the other hemisphere could be taught to perform similar tasks, demonstrating that each hemisphere, independently, contained the ability to learn.

Sperry then studied epileptics who had undergone similar surgery to control seizures. Surprisingly, the patients had suffered no obvious changes in mental capacity. Sperry's test procedures proved that each cerebral hemisphere in such patients had its own separate world of consciousness, perceptual experience, emotions, thoughts and memory. In subsequent research, the right hemisphere, far from being inferior to the left, as was once thought, proved clearly superior in some respects, including the capacity for intuitive thinking, interpreting auditory impressions and comprehending spatial relationships. Said the Nobel Committee of Sperry's achievements: "He has provided us with an insight into the inner world of the brain which hitherto had been almost completely hidden from us."

Hubel and Wiesel have provided a road map of a small portion of that world. By measuring electrical impulses given off by the neurons of the visual cortex, the researchers discovered that the cells in the cortex are arranged in a regular pattern in columns organized into equally regular "hypercolumns." Each cell within each column, they discovered, has a specific responsibility to perceive and analyze incoming images according to contrast, linear patterns and movement on the retina. Within the columns, the analysis also occurs in a formal sequence. Eventually all this information is relayed to the higher centers in the brain where the "full picture," or visual impression, is assembled and a memory of it stored.

Later researchers have based much of their work on the theories and techniques devised by Sperry. Hubel and Wiesel, but the workings of the brain remain largely a mystery. Hubel insists the puzzle can be solved. Says he: "We can think differently about the mind now. It is not a mystical thing, but something that can be understood." ■

Milestones

DIED. Luigi Petroselli, 49, typographer's son who joined the Italian Communist Party at age 19 and rose to become the first Communist to serve as mayor of Rome; of a heart attack; in Rome. Affectionately nicknamed "Joe Bananas" because of his twisted smile and boxer-like stance, the popular Petroselli, who took office in 1979, enhanced Rome's amenities by turning an area near the Coliseum into a Sundays-only pedestrian mall and instituting summer evening presentations of music, films and plays.

DIED. Gloria Grahame, 55, sultry blond movie actress who frequently portrayed the unsavory "other woman" or calculating tart in strong supporting roles opposite such stars as Olivia de Havilland (*Not as a Stranger*, 1955) and Joan Crawford (*Sudden Fear*, 1952); of cancer; in New York City. Grahame won an Oscar as Best Supporting Actress for playing a frivolous Southern belle in *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952).

DIED. Heinz Kohut, 68, controversial Vienna-born psychoanalyst who broke with Freudian orthodoxy and attracted a cult following with his "self-psychology," which insisted that the analyst should bolster a healthy narcissism in patients and not dwell on the traditional Oedipal conflicts; of heart disease; in Chicago.

DIED. Fred Lindstrom, 75, baseball Hall of Fame member who broke in with the pennant-winning 1924 New York Giants at 18, becoming the youngest player ever to appear in the World Series, and racked up a career batting average of .311 in 13 seasons (his best year: 1930, when he hit a torrid .379); after a long illness; in Chicago. After retiring as a player, Lindstrom spent 13 years as baseball coach at Northwestern University.

DIED. Dexter M. Bullard, 83, psychiatrist and medical director from 1931 to 1969 of the Chestnut Lodge mental hospital in Rockville, Md., which pioneered in the use of psychoanalytic treatment for psychotic patients, instead of custodial care; in Rockville. Chestnut Lodge, founded in 1910 by Bullard's father, Dr. Ernest Bullard, was the setting for the 1964 novel *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden*, by onetime Patient Joanne Greenberg.

DIED. Edmondo ("Papa") Zacchini, 87, Italian-born circus clown credited with developing the perilous, modern "human cannonball" act in 1922; in Tampa. Zacchini broke his right leg the first time he used a spring-powered cannon to hurl him 20 ft. When he came to the U.S. to join the Ringling Bros. & Barnum & Bailey circus in 1930, he had already designed compressed-air cannons that could send him or one of his six brothers flying 100 ft. through the air, although by the time he stopped performing the stunt in 1934 he had suffered four other leg fractures.

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People

King wins a point for women's sports with a John McEnroe-like Snoopy

Michael Moriarty takes revenge on the critics in his play *Dexter Creed*

"If you come out, John, I'll let you serve," coaxed a coy **Billie Jean King.** "You can even pick your own linesman." This last promise was one her quarry couldn't resist, and out from backstage came a head-banded, curly-haired, racquet-wielding **Snoopy** masquerading as a mild-mannered **John McEnroe.** The arena was the Grand Ballroom at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria, as the Second Annual Women's Sports Foundation dinner served a sizable helping of awards and raised some $80,000 to encourage women's participation in sports. "I adore John," Billie Jean commented, "but his bark is worse than his serve." Fault!

■

The math is simple: ten plus ten equals 20. But the relationship between perfectly proportioned **Bo Derek** and her similarly endowed sister **Kelly Collins** seems rather more complex. Kelly, 20, who has worked as a sultry stand-in for her elder sister, is preparing to star in a new film called *K.A.O.S.*, a campus whodunit. Kelly, green at the acting game, confesses she is "scared to death," but is not daunted by her sister's histrionic talents. "Frankly, I haven't seen anything in which Bo showed she could act." Although they may not be in the **Olivia de Havilland–Joan Fontaine** class of sibling rivalry, their lapse of sisterly feeling proves that tens are easily divisible.

■

Having learned the first rule of married life (it doubles the bills), **Prince Charles,** 32, has proclaimed a regal solution: a 50% raise. Charles—unlike the rest of his family—receives no allowance from the British government. As the Duke of Cornwall, Charles splits the duchy's revenues fifty-fifty with the Treasury; last year he collected £275,000 tax free (more than $500,000). As the result of a new Treasury agreement, Charles, with an 18th century home in Gloucestershire and a suite in Kensington Palace to keep up, will now pocket 75% of the revenues.

■

As an actor on stage and screen, **Michael Moriarty,** 40, knows the sting of critics' barbs. But Moriarty, unlike most performers, can retaliate in kind. Last week he starred in a tart, off-Broadway monologue called *Dexter Creed*, written by himself. Moriarty portrays an acerbic, dyspeptic critic loosely modeled on **John Simon,** 56, the acerbic, dyspeptic drama critic for *New York* magazine. Simon considers himself an arbiter of high artistic standards. And clearly *Dexter Creed* doesn't come up to them. In his review of the play this week, Simon growls: "Cruel and unusual punishment." For whom? The playgoer or Critic Simon?

Charles raises his own pay

"Forgive me for saying this, but you're causing the President grave concern," said the scolding letter President **Ronald Reagan,** it continued, "personally asked me to find out why you're holding back." The letter, sent out in September by the National Republican Senatorial Committee, over the signature of its chairman, Senator **Robert Packwood** of Oregon, was intended to raise funds for G.O.P. senatorial candidates. But the hectoring, heavyhanded hard sell was too much for White House Political Director **Lyn Nofziger,** who axed the appeal and labeled it "the limit of fund-raising hyperbole." Packwood, who had not written the letter, left town without comment, but one committee spokesman confessed: "We'll be more cautious in using the President's name in the future."

By Richard Stengel

Kelly Collins, Bo Derek's little sister, shows the satiny form she'll display in her new movie, *K.A.O.S.*

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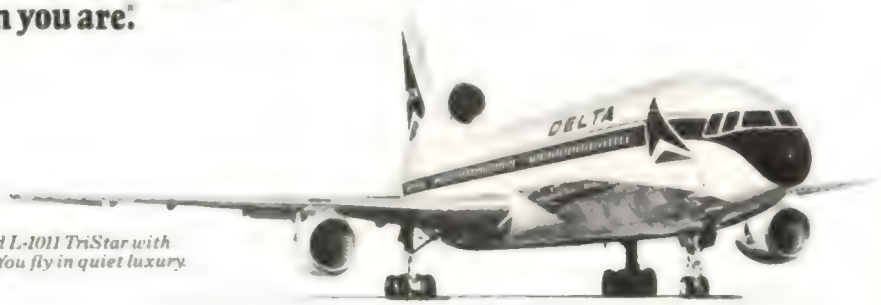

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Harris and Trilling: undone by disengagement, novelized by criticism

The Way to Treat a Lady

MRS. HARRIS: THE DEATH OF THE SCARSCALE DIET DOCTOR
by Diana Trilling; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 341 pages; $14.95

The killing of Dr. Herman Tarnower by Jean Harris was—in current parlance—an "upscale" crime. Accordingly, three upscale women were contracted to write books about it. Shana Alexander and Lally Weymouth are journalists with good exposure and better connections. Diana Trilling is a redoubtable essayist whose clear thinking and case-hardened prose have cut through much of the intellectual and political lard of the past 40 years.

The betting was that Trilling, 76, would turn out the most thoughtful account, though not the fastest or most marketable. One hesitates to deliver a verdict before all the evidence is in, but it is unlikely that Trilling's treatment of Tarnower's death and Harris' conviction will be bettered. As the 1981 calendar flattens against the wall, *Mrs. Harris: The Death of the Scarsdale Diet Doctor* seems the best nonfiction trade book of the year.

This is due largely to what is known in the author's literary circle as resonance—the rich tone that even a tabloid subject causes when drawn across a perceptive and deeply cultured intelligence. Where newspaper readers saw the case as little more than an upper-middle-class rendition of *Frankie and Johnny* (he done her wrong. *Bang! Bang!*), Trilling sees a drama worthy of the talents of Flaubert, Leo Tolstoy and F. Scott Fitzgerald. She also teases out enough class conflict to spin a dark web of one of egalitarian America's most sensitive subjects.

For hundreds of hours, Trilling observed the adjudication of this "respectable murder" from a press seat in the White Plains county courthouse. Little escapes an eye trained by the textures and details of the 19th century novel of manners. In fact, the Jean Harris case provides Trilling with all the things that she has found lacking in serious contemporary fiction: "Love and sexual passion, honor, money, envy, jealousy, greed, death, greatness and meanness of spirit, the anguishing anatomy of class differences: all these which were once major themes of the novel were disappearing from literature to find their home in television, whose falsifications steadily weakened our understanding of life even while we boasted our superiority to its influence."

The author does her bit to change this condition with a work of social criticism that reads like a novel, though she makes no Mailerian claims for the achievement. She heartily dislikes Tarnower, his "reptilian" face, his dictatorial and unimaginative diet book and his Westchester, N.Y., house, which she finds "Japanoid" and "claustral." From testimony and private conversation, she concludes that the cardiologist was "a small-time emotional imperialist," and "a glutton for other people's vulnerabilities." She gleefully notes that he took a nightly laxative mixed with applesauce and that, according to the autopsy report, the deceased was overweight by the standards set forth in his book, *The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet*.

Still, Tarnower is the real victim of the events of March 10, 1980. He is dead forever while Harris, once headmistress of the Madeira school in Virginia, has found a new outlet for her formidable organizational and tutorial talents among the inmates at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility. The author admits to an early sympathy for Harris, then 57, whom Tarnower replaced as No. 1 companion with his secretary Lynne Tryforos, then 37. But as the trial progresses, Trilling grows increasingly disturbed by the accused's air of cultural superiority and emotional disengagement. At the evidence table, Harris examines her ex-lover's blood-stained bedsheets with the dispassionate look of a dry cleaner. She takes notes and shuffles papers as if she were her lawyer's assistant, not his client. Her references to Tryforos are redolent with snootiness. Of Harris, says Trilling: "Ladylikeness is her great stock-in-trade."

It was also her undoing, along with the mink hat she wore before the jury and the incriminating "Scarsdale letter" to Tarnower in which Harris sounds like anything but a lady. The defense contended that, despite the doctor's multiple bullet wounds, his death was "a tragic accident." Harris, it was argued, had driven all the way from her home in Virginia with a .32-cal. revolver to commit suicide after seeing "Hi" just one more time. The defendant described an ensuing struggle for the gun, which went off more than once. The jury did not buy the story and convicted Harris of murder in the second degree, defined as killing with a conscious intent. Trilling does not buy the verdict. She believes that Jean Harris harbored a murderous rage but not premeditation.

Of the lethal event itself, Trilling suggests that Harris did not lie; instead, her need to be right and respectable drove the truth into her subconscious. This conclusion is a long way from the annals of law. But in the court of literature, Trilling's Jean Harris is a great portrait of an American aberration. —*By R.Z. Sheppard*

Excerpt

"Mrs. Harris is still convinced that when she drove to Purchase for a last moment of peace and security with her lover, suicide was the only purpose she had in mind. If one grants that this was so, one can't help but wonder what the outcome of the evening would have been had Dr. Tarnower, instead of refusing to open his eyes, instead of just lying there hugging a pillow—Mrs. Harris didn't make *that* up—had bestirred himself, talked to his night visitor and tried to comfort her, perhaps made love to her. At least for the time being it might have dispelled her distress, bought the doctor his life and bought Mrs. Harris her life."

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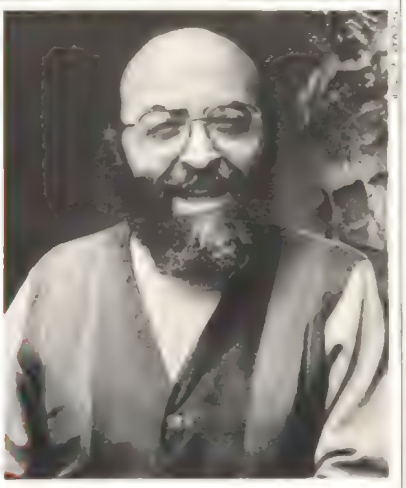

Chaim Potok

Illuminations

THE BOOK OF LIGHTS
by Chaim Potok
Knopf; 370 pages; $13.50

Albert Einstein ponders the young rabbi's last name: "Loran. That is, I believe, also the name of a navigational instrument, is it not?" As usual, the physicist is correct: the acronym for long-range navigation also describes the hero of Chaim Potok's fifth and most ambitious novel. Although the author has retained a strong narrative drive, he has abandoned the matzo-barrel homilies that marked such early works as *The Chosen* and *The Promise*. Once again his themes are ethnic, but his concerns are universal.

Orphaned in the late '30s, when his parents were killed in a now forgotten Arab-Israeli battle, Gershon Loran is raised by an uncle in a Brooklyn ghetto. Surrounded by squalor, the teen-ager refuses to succumb to despair. One summer night, he watches a mongrel bitch give birth to a litter of puppies. In a sudden rush of insight, resting on the roof of a tenement, he is seized by the miraculous: "He felt all caught up in the life of heaven and earth, in the mystery of creation, in the pain and inexhaustible glory of this single moment." *The Book of Lights* charts Loran's search to re-create that epiphany.

In college and later the seminary, Loran retreats from humanity, abandoning the generous philosophy of the Talmud for the magical pronouncements of the Kabbalah. A fellow student wonders: "Do you transform yourself in the night? Do you become a Rabbi Hyde?" No; Loran remains Rabbi Jekyll, a self-described *Zwischenmensch*, a between-man, traversing the border between reality and self-delusion. His girlfriend acutely observes: "Your eyes go somewhere else."

Certainly they are not focused on her, or on his roommate Arthur Leiden, one of Potok's most complex and compelling

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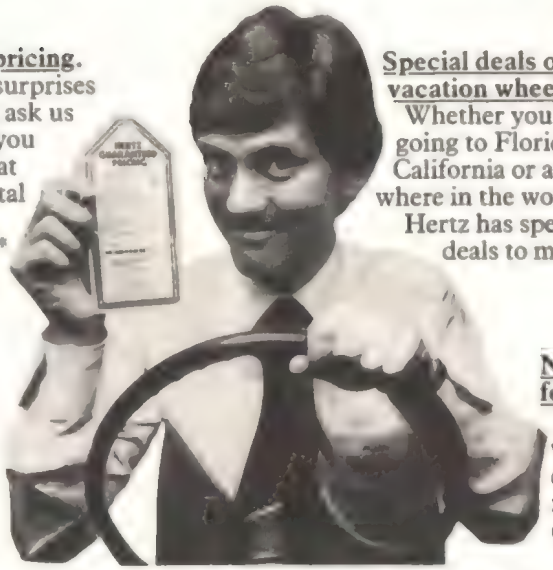

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Andrew M. Greeley
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Eugene Fisher, National Conference of Catholic Bishops
Harold Kushner has written a highly personal book, and a deeply moving one. Like the biblical book of Job, to which it owes so much, it is a statement of faith, not of theology. It should be read with that "inner eye" which lies within each of us, but of which we seldom speak.

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characters. Leiden's father was a parent of the atomic bomb. The son's heritage is a lifelong nightmare of incinerated birds in his Los Alamos backyard. But if Leiden Jr. is damned at night, he distributes blessings by day: he induces his family to aid Gershon with a scholarship; later Leiden prevails upon "Uncle Albert" Einstein to make the journey from Princeton to the graduation. The favors are not returned. Loran is too busy probing his own psyche. He has plenty of company. In '50s America, the Holocaust is not yet an obsession. Instead, Topic A in synagogues and cafeterias is the sins committed *by* Jews. The elder Leiden reflects, "We tinker with light and atomic bombs . . . No one is on more familiar terms with the heart of the insanity in the universe than is the Jew, and no one is more frenetic and untidy in the search for an answer . . . We offer apocalypses in a pushcart."

And in starched khaki. Still searching for transcendence, Loran enlists in the Army to become the only rabbi in post-truce Korea. As the young chaplain ministers to occupation troops, he wrestles less with the Kabbalah than with morale reports and charts of the VD rate for enlisted men. On leave, he wanders around Japan, ill at ease in the crowded cities and out of place in the temples of Kyoto. In Hiroshima, where "all the darkness and light of the species" lurks in the ruins, he is joined by Leiden, now a fellow chaplain. Before the monument to the dead, Leiden recites Kaddish, the prayer for mourners. As a polite but stunned Japanese couple watch in the cold wind of the peace park, Loran sounds an amen that is wrenched from his soul. At last he has found a moral location, an identity outside of selfhood.

The novelist's prose may be excessively plain, but neither his text nor his cast is simple. Potok knows that personal illuminations, like those of physics, are transitory: the glow of a Brooklyn coal furnace, the sunshine on Mount Fuji, the ambiguous light of the atom and the consolations of philosophy do not stay. They must be discovered again and again, generation after generation. Ironically, it is that sense of impermanence that grants the novel its sense of durability and makes it, literally, a book of lights. —*By J.D. Reed*

Fancy Footwork

DEBTS OF HONOUR
by Michael Foot
Harper & Row; 240 pages; $13.95

It is as if Tip O'Neill had published a series of erudite *feuilletons* on such figures as Hawthorne, Henry Adams and William Randolph Hearst; or Howard Baker had come out with a sheaf of witty commentaries on the likes of Whitman, Santayana and Bernard Baruch. Michael Foot is, after all, not a professional man of letters. He is a politician, the leader of Britain's Labor Party, and, as such,

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Olympia Fields
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Ted Horton Chevrolet Inc
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Harvey
Peter Levin Pontiac Inc.
Chicago Heights
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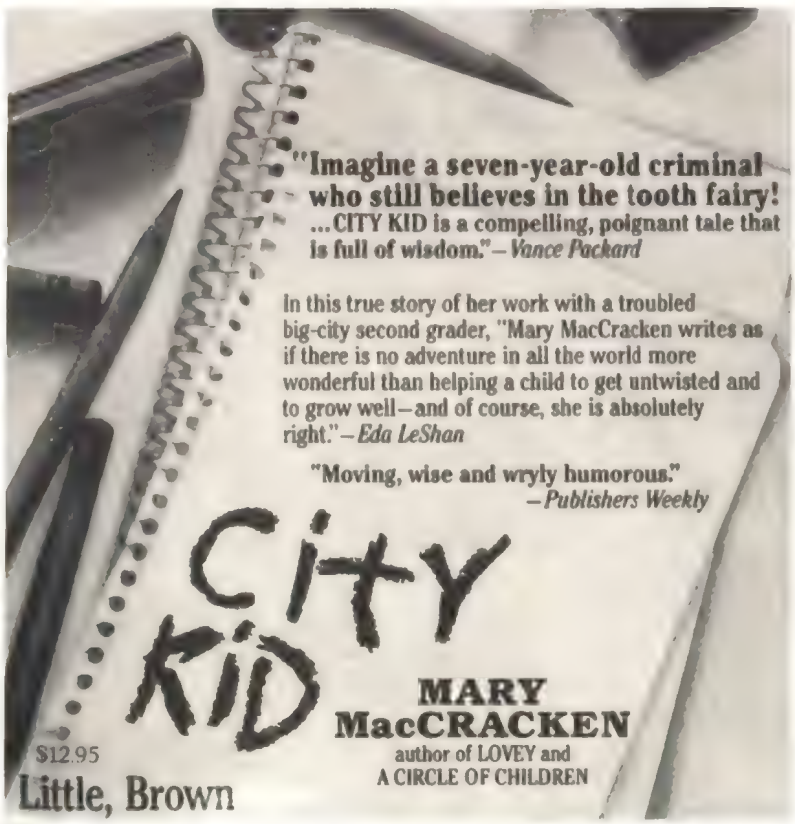
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Books

Michael Foot

A comfort to the mother tongue.

his country's shadow Prime Minister.

Such stateside equivalents are almost beyond imagination. On their feet, American politicians may have commanded a vigorous rodomantade, salted with the Bible and tall tales. But sitting down to write, few since the founding fathers have proved to be on more than speaking terms with the language (a present-day exception: Daniel Patrick Moynihan). The British Parliament, on the other hand, has always been a veritable academy of accomplished scribblers, as the examples of Benjamin Disraeli, A.P. Herbert, Winston Churchill—and now Foot—attest. This may not necessarily make for better politics, but it is surely a comfort to the mother tongue.

The best of these biographical and literary essays flash with the fervor and assurance of a man nurtured on late Victorian intellectuality, steeped in 1930s radicalism and tempered by more than 30 years on Fleet Street. He makes no apology for his bookishness: "Men of power have no time to read; yet the men who do not read are unfit for power." He draws a charming portrait of his father, who passed on his bibliophilia, and a colorfully contradictory one of his father-figure, Lord Beaverbrook. Foot reminisces warmly about his exasperating fellow journalist Randolph Churchill, but repeats the remark that he "should not be allowed out in private." He sketches a learned dissertation on the political significance of Disraeli's novels and states the case for Hazlitt as England's Shakespeare of prose.

Rather, he overstates the case, as he does most of the time. These are Foot's mentors and heroes, and he cannot resist eulogizing them any more than he can resist retroactively converting them, even the most unreconstructed Tories, to socialism. In the process, he unabashedly reveals himself as something that many a politician would not readily admit to being: human. —*By Christopher Porterfield*

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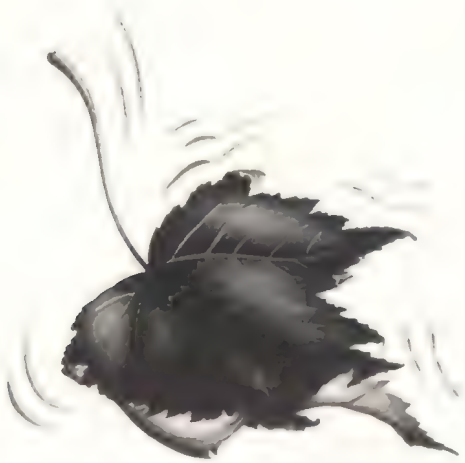

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Cleveland, Ohio
Columbia, S.C.
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Illustration for TIME by Elwood H. Smith

Samurai Killing on the Market

Taking business tips from a 17th century Japanese hero

On Wall Street, when Miyamoto Musashi talks, people listen. Musashi, as everyone on the street knows, was a legendary Japanese samurai who killed more than 60 people in duels. He did not really know a bull from a bear and had nothing whatever to say to the American financial community during his lifetime (1584-1645), or for the 336 years thereafter. But in 1981 he became a star, shortly after Advertising Executive George Lois, in a column in *Adweek* wrote these fateful words "The Japanese entrepreneur is not nurtured at an Asian equivalent of our Harvard Business School. Instead, he studies, lives and works according to an almost mythic tome written in 1645 by the great samurai, Miyamoto Musashi . . . the classic *A Book of Five Rings.*"

Lois now says he wrote the piece "tongue in cheek." But in a financial and business community jittery about Japanese success, it was no joke. Within a week Howard Stein, chairman of the Dreyfus Corp., was on the horn to Lois. Where could he get the book? The presidents of Gulf + Western and Clairol called too, and so did the chairman of the Beefsteak Charlie's chain and the proprietor of Manhattan's pricey Four Seasons restaurant. Whole clusters of secretaries began showing up at the Coles bookstore near Wall Street, eager to acquire Musashi for their waiting bosses. At midtown Manhattan's giant Barnes & Noble bookstore, *A Book of Five Rings* is currently ninth on the nonfiction bestseller list, selling 2,000 to 3,000 copies in the past two months, and climbing. Overlook Press, the publisher, even got a phone call asking if Musashi was available for a talk show. "It was crazy and amazing," says Overlook Editor Mark Gompertz. "We originally brought out this book in 1974, purely for the martial-arts enthusiasts. It was barely noticed. But we have just gone into the ninth printing and sold 75,000 copies—most of them this year."

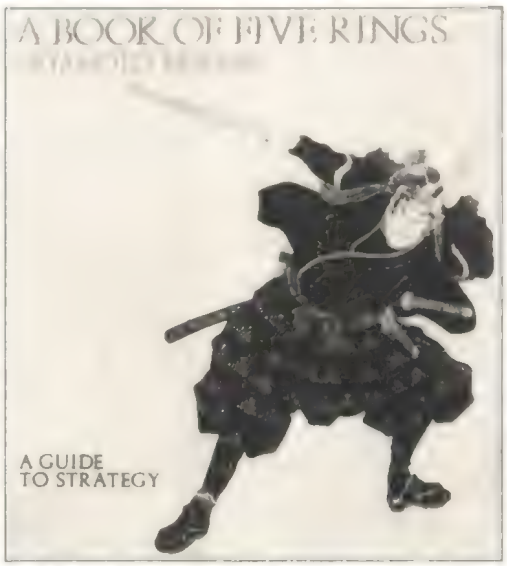
For his $12.95, a buyer of Musashi's book gets a slender tome only 96 pages long: 28 pages of highly scrutable samurai pictures and 68 pages of not so scrutable prose. It is anything but scrutable.

"Sleepiness can be passed on, and yawning can be passed on. Time can be passed on also," says the author. In one of the clearer and most stoic passages, Musashi says a warrior should consider himself already dead. "Thus becoming one with the Way of the warrior, you can pass through life with no possibility of failure and perform your office properly." Rough translation: you are already dead, you do not have anything to lose and so can take all sorts of risks.

Musashi goes on to explain how to stab an enemy, how to intimidate and how to think oneself into an enemy's mind. He writes: "You must utterly cut the enemy down so that he does not recover his position." Among American brokers and executives, this heavily underlined passage is taken to mean that the Japanese businessman is really playing hardball. "The message is very clear," says Robert Allio, dean of the school of management at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. "Business needs to be approached as though one were a warrior. You can't win by dabbling or playing the role of a dilettante." Over at Lehman Bros. Kuhn Loeb, Ray McAllister, a portfolio manager, complains that "the Musashi 'risk-everything, lose-everything' philosophy does not really lend itself to managing stocks and bonds." Dreyfus' Stein found the book "a little rough." Says he: "Its kill-the-enemy kind of competition is not our style. I'd rather have living competition."

The book is filled with homilies familiar in the Western tradition: "Practice makes perfect," "Think big," "He who hesitates is lost." Musashi's nine commandments of strategy include such lessons as "Do not think dishonestly," "Pay attention even to trifles," "Perceive those things which cannot be seen." Concedes Daniel Scherrer, a manager of corporate communication programs at IBM in Armonk, N.Y.: "If you look at the list, they are all really clichés. But when they come at you through the aura of history, from another culture, it's a more dramatic way to present them." He says he finds the list very useful in seminars on how corporations like IBM should communicate with the public and with their own employees.

Author Musashi made his killings, all nonfinancial, between the ages of 13 and 30, then retired to a life of philosophy, calligraphy and spirituality based on the martial arts. His book owes a little something to Zen, Shinto and Confucian principles. Unlike the chivalrous works that sprang from the pens of European knights,



Book jacket shows author practicing swordsmanship

"Tongue in cheek" but no joke in a time of jitters.

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Behavior

there is no hint of fair play or courtly behavior in his book. Nobody gives—or asks for—any quarter. In some of the killings he recounts, he seems as eager to bushwhack a victim as did Billy the Kid. In Japan, the modern Musashi boom dates from 1935, when the late novelist Eiji Yoshikawa launched a historical novel on the hero that ran daily in a Japanese newspaper for four years. (The English-language version of that story, *Musashi*, published here in August, runs about one-third that length, 970 pages.) That work inspired a long round of samurai movies in Japan. George Lois says he got the idea for the *Adweek* column when a friend, Masaichi Kaneda, a famous retired baseball pitcher in Japan, entertained him for four days with tales of Musashi and how useful his advice is in business and sports

The heart of that advice is a kind of samurai stoicism, rudely summed up as "slash swiftly and without warning." Its

Osaka workers listening to company slogans
Loyalty, honesty and slashing the enemy

finer meanings, however, are hidden Bradford Brown, head of Nihon Services Corp. in New York, which specializes in complex translations from Japanese texts, says that the central concept of *heiho* (translated as strategy) actually refers to demeanor, outlook. "It is really untranslatable," Brown admits. "To read the book in its present form takes either tremendous intuitive understanding or academic training." Brown is readying a competing translation of at least 200 exhaustive pages for a large-scale paperback that Bantam Books will soon be laying on the American Musashi market

In Japan, businessmen are politely pleased but mystified by all the attention being paid to their hero. "It's good to know that things have begun to go both ways across the Pacific," said one executive. "After all, we went to pieces when we first saw Henry Fonda playing Wyatt Earp." —***By John Leo. Reported by Frederick Ungeheuer/New York***

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Risky Rendezvous at Swatow

Bold expedition smuggles 1 million Bibles into mainland China

The beach near the mainland Chinese village of Gezhou, code named "Mike," looked deserted in the moonlight. Just offshore, in a glassy South China sea, a crew member on the seagoing tugboat *Michael* signaled inland with three sharp flashes of a hand-held light. Almost immediately, three answering flashes came from the shadowy trees at the edge of the 300-yd. beach. Suddenly, hundreds of figures swarmed silently down to the water's edge, where they had a brief and emotional rendezvous with their foreign visitors. The long-awaited and highly covert task that evening: unloading and distributing more than 1 million contraband Chinese-language Bibles. The 232-ton cargo of books had been printed in the U.S. and was smuggled 200 miles up the Chinese coast from Hong Kong in the largest operation of its kind in the history of China.

TIME has learned that the remarkable mission, dubbed Project Pearl and executed with military precision last June, was engineered by Open Doors with Brother Andrew International, a nondenominational, evangelical missionary organization based in Ermelo, The Netherlands. The group has specialized in smuggling Bibles mostly into Communist countries for some two decades. The purpose of Project Pearl was to bring badly needed copies of the Scriptures to 5 million Chinese Protestants, who worship under the watchful eye of the Peking government in an estimated 50,000 "house churches." Many of these churches were formed after the Cultural Revolution of the late '60s, when Chinese Christians were persecuted and their regular places of worship closed. Now even the more tolerant regime of Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang has begun to bristle at the swift expansion of the house church movement, and is hardly likely to countenance the Bible smuggling effort. Says an American ex-Marine who led Project Pearl: "Between obedience to God and obedience to men, we choose obedience to God."

Project Pearl, a name inspired by *Matthew 13:45* ("The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls"), had its beginnings in late 1979, when Open Doors was approached secretly by a house church leader, who urgently requested Old and New Testaments. Under the guidance of Open Doors President Anne van der Bijl, 53, staffers began raising money for the mission in the U.S. through dinners, direct mail and TV spots. The aim of the campaign was disclosed, but not the way the mission would be accomplished. Cost of the venture: $6 million, of which $3.5 million came from the U.S. and Canada and $2.5 million from abroad.

Simultaneously, local operatives in the Southeast China port of Swatow, the city near the planned landing, made hundreds of area photographs and closely monitored local Chinese security forces. The plan, completed last December, called for a sturdy tug to tow a partly submersible barge loaded with 232 one-ton blocks, each packed with 48 waterproof boxes containing 90 Bibles.

Thomas Nelson Publishers of Nashville, Tenn., a religious house, agreed to produce the million copies. Photographic plates of a Union version Bible, first translated into Chinese in 1919, were forwarded to the U.S. from Hong Kong. The printing bill for the leather-bound, 629-page volumes of the complete Scriptures was $1.4 million. The Bibles were transported last spring to Hong Kong in a container ship.

A specially chosen 20-member international crew began to practice dry runs on secluded Mindoro Island in the Philippines. A special 100-ft. barge was built, and, for $480,000, the tug *Michael* was bought in Singapore. Finally, the assault party sailed for Hong Kong to pick up its illicit cargo. At the last moment, a planned Easter Sunday landing at Swatow was scrubbed by Van der Bijl because of concern that Chinese authorities might be alerted to the plan. Two months later, the crew sent a cryptic message to agents in Swatow: "We are going to have a dinner party, expecting so many people that we have arranged 21 teacups and cooked 18 bowls of rice." D-day, in other words, would take place at 2100 hours, June 18.

The show was on. The *Michael* weighed anchor, feigned a southward course toward Manila, then swung north up the Chinese coast. At one point, a typhoon threatened to engulf the frail expedition, but fortunately, the storm veered out to sea. Entering the harbor at Swatow, the crew had another bad moment when a Chinese gunboat approached, only to pass by harmlessly. The unloading process went smoothly as villagers snipped packets of Bibles from the submerged barge with rope cutters supplied by the smugglers, then carried them to waiting bikes, buses and trucks (Open Doors clandestinely had supplied $75,000 to hire the vehicles). But about four hours after the departure of the *Michael*, an army patrol turned up unexpectedly in Gezhou village. The patrol stormed the beach, arresting hundreds who were still at work carting off the Bibles. Subsequently, according to Hong Kong reports, most of the prisoners were released.

Project Pearl barge taking on plastic-wrapped crates of Bibles in Hong Kong harbor

"Between obedience to God and obedience to men, we choose obedience to God."

Open Doors now estimates that some 60% to 80% of the Bibles wound up in the possession of house church groups, some as far as 3,000 miles away in Heilongjiang and Xinjiang provinces. So far, Peking has remained silent, but the illegal distribution of Bibles is certain to rankle the hierarchy of Peking's official religious establishment, the Chinese Three-Self Patriotic Church. It has attempted to bring the house churches under closer control by printing its own Bibles, although it has delivered only 135,000 copies since 1979.

Project Pearl, meanwhile, already has inspired calls from potential donors willing to finance massive new Bible-smuggling ventures to China or behind the Iron Curtain. ***—By Russ Hoyle. Reported by Bing W. Wong/Hong Kong***

Video

Brown and Morse in the Outback

Worth the Wait

A TOWN LIKE ALICE
PBS, Sundays to Nov. 8, 9 p.m.

For decades, Australia's chief entertainment export was raw talent. The land of English immigrants was a billabong from which promising young artists, actors and singers lost little time in emigrating. Then, out of government grants and an informal consortium of gifted newcomers, there emerged an Australian film industry, which in the past decade has become the world's most vital national cinema, extravagantly creative, fiercely indigenous.

Now, some of those same film makers are bending their energies to improving the quality of Australian television, and programs from Down Under have started showing up in the U.S. The astringent soap opera *Prisoner: Cell Block H* broke the ice in 1980, but with the cleaver of melodrama. Then the mini-series *Against the Wind*, a saga about the settling of the Australian frontier, won critical applause and respectable ratings in syndication. No question; the Aussies were coming. With *A Town Like Alice*, the six-hour drama that opens Masterpiece Theater's eleventh season, they may have arrived.

It is quite a pedigree of raves and ratings that *Alice* brings with her. In Britain this summer, the series scored with the critics and drew an average of 30% of the audience, close to the record set by *Roots* and *Holocaust*. Back home it was something of a national event, averaging 70% of the audience in most major cities, and going as high as 75% in Adelaide.

Based on Nevil Shute's 1950 novel, the script by Tom Hegarty and Rosemary Anne Sisson begins in Malaya in 1941. An English typist named Jean Paget (Helen Morse) is 20 and moseying through a life of blissful boredom on a cricket pitch when the Japanese invade the country. They force the women into an aimless odyssey, trudging on blistered feet from one village to another. Many die; all lose their imperial hauteur. But Jean shows her spine and sinew, arguing with her captors, keeping order in her depleted ranks. She is man enough for every adversity—and woman enough for Joe Harman (Bryan Brown), a raffish Aussie ranch hand whom she meets on the road. Joe is strong, abrupt, resourceful, a right charmer who falls for Jean but will not make a move because he believes her to be married. After the Japanese catch him stealing some chickens for Jean and the other women, Joe is tortured and left to die.

This is the story Jean relates, back in London after the war, to an aging solicitor (Gordon Jackson) who is surprised to find himself in love with this remarkable woman. He will help Jean and hinder Joe as they try to re-establish contact over the years and across the British Empire.

Made for $1.4 million, *Alice* looks as handsome as any *Heaven's Gate* (with location shooting in London, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand). At times, Producer Henry Crawford and Director David Stevens linger indulgently over this spectacular sunset, that dramatic moment. *Alice* might have had twice the impact at half the length. But there are rewards for its attenuation: the viewer gets to share six hours with some remarkable actors.

Gordon Jackson, best known as Hudson, the starchy belowstairs patriarch of *Upstairs, Downstairs*, can mull a line of dialogue as if it were a mouthful of old port; but it's best just to watch the life and color seep out of that creased and kindly face as he says goodbye to the woman he dares not tell he loves. Brown, who costarred in *Breaker Morant*, has fine, sharp features and a sharper tongue and wit; he conveys an assured, untamable masculinity. In Hollywood he could be the new Gary Cooper; in Australia he can be himself.

Brown is the diamond-in-the-rough to Helen Morse's star sapphire. Dark-eyed, long-necked, plain and serenely beautiful, Morse has some of the aristocratic reserve of Jane Alexander, and a lot of Vanessa Redgrave's passionate intelligence. Whether as a wily survivor of war or a kind of Harvey Girl entrepreneur of the Outback, Morse acts, behaves, reposes splendidly. And when she and Brown finally declare their mutual love, the Queensland night sends up skyrockets. "Was it worth the wait?" she asks Joe, who grins and grunts, "Whadda you reckon!" His reply might serve as the viewer's response to Helen Morse and the best of *A Town Like Alice*. —*By Richard Corliss*

TV 1, Jackie 0

JACQUELINE BOUVIER KENNEDY
ABC, Oct. 14, 8 p.m. E.D.T.

The reputations of Nell Gwyn, Marie Antoinette and Lady Diana prove it: courtesans and consorts can lodge in legend as securely as the men they serve. They dress the naked throne of power with their glamour, sex, humanity; they provide a public-relations link between master and mass. They need do nothing special, for they become what they marry. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis only needed to sign a brace of marriage contracts. Because the other signatories were a young American as powerful as Minos and an aging Greek as rich as Croesus, she became the best-known woman in the world.

How appropriate, then, that in this three-hour TV movie she is impersonated by Jaclyn Smith, the *Charlie's Angels* alumna whom a PEOPLE poll designated "the most beautiful woman in America." Royalty should play royalty, even in a pageant as pedestrian as this. Writer-Director Steven Gethers sketches a triptych of scenes from the life of young Jacqueline ("Not Jackie," as she firmly cautions). At first she is a solemn young equestrian, a pawn in her parents' grim power struggle for her love. Later, she is a budding journalist and the apple of Senator Jack Kennedy's roving eye. The film climaxes with the White House years, when she plays Guinevere in a contentious Camelot, acting as Jack's shy, willful, loving wife and then as his elegant widow.

In the film's first scene, young Jacqueline's rakehell father (Rod Taylor) roars home from an all-night frolic, and his haughty wife (Claudette Nevins) confronts him in full dominatrix regalia: breeches, riding crop and withering stare. If only the film had been subjected to some of the same discipline. The camera glides discreetly through Newport drawing rooms and Georgetown dining rooms—always the visitor on a guided tour, never the Knowledgeable Source with some dirt to dish. Jaclyn Smith is a stunner and a competent actress; as J.F.K., James Franciscus brings crinkled eyes and a Boston accent that he engages seemingly at whim. But the movie never comes to life, as love story or tragedy or even tattletale. The Queen of Celebrity deserves better, and so do her avid subjects. —*R.C.*

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